

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES

VOL. XIII
ARTS & SCIENCE

Edited by

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENT

SENATE HOUSE
ALLAHABAD

1937

Price Rs. 7 as. 8

**ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS, ALLAHABAD
PRINTER — M. N. PANDEY**

CONTENTS

Arts Section

	PAGES
SECTION I—ENGLISH	1—39
1. The Sentiment of Nature in the Poetry of George Meredith— <i>by S. C. Deb</i>	1—22
2. The York “Creation of Adam and Eve”— <i>by P. E. Dustoor</i>	23—39
SECTION II—PHILOSOPHY	41—136
3. Sankara’s Theory of Consciousness— <i>by A. C. Mukerji</i> ..	43—59
4. Vedanta as Religion and Philosophy— <i>by D. B. Sinha, Research Scholar</i>	61—136
SECTION III—SANSKRIT	137—144
5. Kolhapur Spurious Copper-Plate Inscription of Satyāś- raya Vinayāditya (Saka 520)— <i>by Pandit Raghuvara Mitthulal Shastri</i>	139—144
SECTION IV—URDU	145—222
6. Divān Qāzī Mahmud Bahri of Gogi— <i>Translated and Edited by Dr. M. Hafiz Syed</i>	147—222
SECTION V—ARABIC	223—256
7. Ma‘alīl-Himam— <i>Edited by Habibullah Khan Ghazanfar, M.A.</i>	226—256

Science Section

SECTION I—CHEMISTRY	1—13
1. Oxidation of Glucose in presence of Insulin, Glutathione and other Substances— <i>by C. C. Palit and N. R. Dhar</i> ..	1—9
2. Nitrogen Fixation and Azotobacter Count on the Application of Molasses and Sugars to the soil in fields— <i>by E. V. Seshacharyulu</i>	11—13
SECTION II—PHYSICS	15—50
3. A Critical Study of Active Nitrogen Phenomenon— <i>by L. S. Mathur</i>	17—50
SECTION III—BOTANY	51—82
4. A Comparative Study of certain Strains of Macros- porium grown on synthetic and fresh fruit-juice media— <i>by (Miss) L. Roy</i>	53—82
SECTION IV—MATHEMATICS	83—90
5. On the Phragmén-Lindelöf Principle— <i>by P. L. Srivastava</i>	85—90

ARTS

SECTION I
ENGLISH

Allahabad University Studies

VOL. XIII

1936

No. 13

THE SENTIMENT OF NATURE IN THE POETRY OF GEORGE MEREDITH

By S. C. DEB

In the following pages, the present writer intends to discuss a feature of the poetry of Meredith, which has often been touched upon by earlier writers. Even a superficial knowledge of Meredith's poetry will make one recognise that he was throughout his life moved by the feeling of love and reverence for Nature, and that unlike many modern poets, (such as T. S. Eliot), he might almost be said to have created a religion of his own, based on this deep-seated emotion. Meredith, commencing his literary career as the fervent disciple of Goethe,¹ and of a Carlyle who had not yet been soured by contact with the world, was naturally drawn to ponder one important aspect of their works—their quest of a faith, and the rehabilitation of the creed of Nature-worship by the former. Meredith began his literary career with a volume of poems in 1851,² but was afterwards compelled, because of

¹ Sencourt, "Life".

² "Poems" (1851), but this volume he later on spoke of very slightly. "The sole excuse for it, in my mind, is the crude age of the writer. But that does not make it more comfortable to think that the book is not extinct". [Letters, Vol. II, p. 436].

the lack of money, to turn to fiction and journalism, and the next important volume of poetry from his pen—since “Modern Love,” has nothing to give us—came only as late as 1883.¹ Though the novels of Meredith are saturated with the feeling of love for Nature, and in many places are crowded with detailed descriptions of natural scenery, the fact that while writing them he was principally concerned with painting scenes from the life of upper class society, or analysing types of characters met with in such a class, did not permit him to express his intimate personal beliefs with the fullness and freedom that he could easily achieve in his verse. Towards his prose writings Meredith always looked with a somewhat dissatisfied air, and all his life he desired to be considered a poet. “Only a few read my verse” complained he to Edward Clodd almost at the end of his long life, “and yet it is that for which I care most..... I began with poetry, and I shall finish with it.”²

It would seem therefore, that a consideration of the poetry of Meredith would enable the reader to formulate an opinion about the sentiment of Nature in his work with a greater degree of concinnity than a similar treatment of his novels. Yet a careful perusal of his poetry soon disabuses the reader. Meredith’s verse is, in even a greater degree than his prose, individual and bizarre in its expression; and the peculiar charm that certain unusual symbols and images had for the poet, adds to the primary difficulty presented to the reader by the extreme rapidity and tenuity of the poet’s thought. When one also remembers that Meredith at no period of his career looked back on the past, and analysed and differentiated the attitude of the moment from those that had preceded it, (as Wordsworth did in “Tintern Abbey”), one is not surprised that the central impression created by the poet should seem

¹ “Poems and Lyrics of the Joy of Earth” 1883; in this essay the *Surrey Edition* has been used throughout.

² Clodd, Edward : “Memories” (p. 146)

to be clouded over and obscured by the many unallied and conflicting, though passing moods, produced in one's mind. Out of these confusing impressions, the reader has to select the most important, and also the most harmonised ones, and on their basis attempt to make a synthesis.

The first point to be remembered in making a synthesis of this nature is that Meredith, though a writer of the philosophic lyric, was essentially impressionistic in his method¹, and was at least, in his earlier days not willing to accept any scheme of philosophic thought, contemporary or otherwise, as a body of doctrine to be upheld in his verse. Being a poet and deeply sensuous in temperament, the first aspect of Nature that presented itself to his youthful eyes was its concreteness and objectivity and the second was its fleeting and evanescent quality. Basing his earlier work on his boyish recollections of the German Rhineland, and later on of his visions of the English countryside, it was by the colour, the beauty of form, the scents and sounds, of these landscapes, by all that pleased him "in the mighty world of eye and ear", that he was attracted. As M. Fernandez says of him "...Chez Meredith, la pensée n'est pas séparable de l'intuition...Sa philosophie, pure de toute conception a priori, de toute articulation abstraite, est immédiatement vérifiable par chacun de nous dans les cadres modestes de notre expérience". (*Messages*, p. 122.) The "Letters" do not make it quite clear as to how deeply Meredith had been influenced in his childhood and youth by such writers as Rousseau and Wordsworth,² but some of the earlier poetry is definitely Wordsworthian in tone. But it may be said, that in the earlier works of Meredith there hardly is to be found anything like a clear conception of the position of

¹ "The art of the pen is to rouse the inward vision instead of labouring with a drop-scene brush, as if it were to the eye" (*Diana of the Cross-ways*).

² The only one to Rousseau is in Vol. I, p. 259, Wordsworth is barely mentioned on p. 515, Vol. II.

Nature in the scheme of the Universe. The central triad of concepts: God, Nature, Man, is to be met in the earlier poetry, but the writer has not yet attempted to show their mutual relationship in clear and unmistakable words, and if he ever attempts to speak of Nature he imitates the Wordsworthian attitude.¹ It is only in the later Meredith that the reader finds an attempt at a systematised and personal utterance, in such volumes as "Poems and Lyrics of the Joy of Earth" (1883), and "A Reading of Earth" (1888), the poet has definitely advanced beyond the position adopted by him in the earlier book.

The second point to be noticed is that a certain diffuseness, and love of experimentation stand as a further obstacle in the way of our making a just estimate of Meredith's contribution to English nature-poetry. A large number of beautiful lines and images lie embedded in strange and unexpected places, and frequently appear only in the nature of ornament, so that the impression created is often weakened by the irrelevancy of its setting. Besides these images are often met with in pieces where the poet follows the narrative or dramatic convention,² and therefore the poet is unable to let us feel the effectiveness of his imagery in the highest degree. For example, in such a poem as "Earth and a Wedded Woman," the poet desires us to feel that Earth's subtle influence compels a wedded woman, who is on the point of making a false step, restrain herself, and keep to the path of rectitude. The poet evidently desires us to accept a notion such as this: Earth's message can be heard even in moments of agony and by the commonest of human beings, and if we are willing to listen to such a message,

¹ Vol. I: "The Wild Rose and the Snowdrop" p. 17-18, esp. the last verse paragraph an obviously Wordsworthian note is sounded; also Vol. I. p. 112 "The longest day".

² Vol. I, "The Shipwreck of Idomeneus," [the whole of the passage p. 104-106], Vol. II, "Love in a Valley" (p. 81, st. 4, st. 5 and st. 7), "The Appeasement of Demeter" [Vol. II, p. 226, stanzas 3, 6, etc.]. "Day of the Daughter of Hades" (Vol. II, p. 53 et. seq.) Vol. II, "Phoebus with Admetus" [p. 71-74]

we shall also be kept out of the way of evil and shame. But unless one sifts the imagery carefully it is not possible to find out such a meaning; in the whole of the poem there is hardly any direct statement, except in such veiled words as these :

At morn she stood to live for ear and sight,
Love sky or cloud, or rose or grasses drenched.
A lureful devil, that in glow-worm light
Set languor writhing all its folds, she quenched.
But she would muse when neighbours praised her face,
Her services, and staunchness to her mate :
Knowing by some dim trace,
The change might bear a date.....¹.

The indirectness and complexity of utterance in this passage may easily be paralleled elsewhere.

A third point that ought to be noticed in this connexion is the poet's fondness for using words with a special or individual meaning. One of Meredith's earliest critics, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, complaining of the poets' practice with regard to only two of these terms, "Nature" and "Earth," says : "It is not always easy to define the meaning attached by Mr. Meredith to the words Earth and Nature. Sometimes Earth means the planet Earth; sometimes it is a poetical phrase for the ethical precept which he is laying down. These two uses of the word often cause a confusion." When we add to this another set of outwardly simple words, such as "change" (by which Meredith means the process of cosmic evolution, with a suggestion of meliorism in such a process), or "Colour" ("the soul's bridegroom"), or "green" and "blue," one can have some idea of some of the difficulties in the way of a connected and satisfactory interpretation of Meredith's nature-poetry.

¹ "Poems" Vol. II, p. 233.

I

A perusal of the collected poetry, confirms one in the belief that Meredith's attitude underwent a certain amount of modification. Starting, as has been suggested above, with a somewhat unreflecting and sensuous love of Nature, such as Wordsworth describes in a set of famous lines in "Tintern Abbey,"¹ Meredith came to take a wider and more comprehensive view, when he was no longer thrilled merely by "the language of the sense," but by another and a deeper feeling, when the attitude of reflective interpretation of the duality of Nature's ways came to supplement the earlier one of impassioned admiration, to be later on strengthened in turn by the mood of calm acceptance and of joy in Nature. But at no moment of his career was Meredith able to dissociate himself from the love of the *external* aspects of Nature's beauty. Wordsworth says of himself in "Tintern Abbey" that he was able to outgrow the early "appetite," and to look on Nature,

not as in the hour

Of thoughtless youth : but hearing often times
 The still sad music of humanity
 Not harsh nor grating, though of ample power
 To chasten and subdue."

But with Meredith, though there was something of a similar change, and though he too came to recognise in his maturer years in Nature something more than merely a beauteous expanse whose sole reason of existence was the satisfaction of the sensu-

".....the tall rock

¹ The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me
 An *appetite* : a feeling and a love,
 That had no need of a remoter charm,
 By thought supplied, or any interest
 Unborrowed from the eye..." "Tintern Abbey"

The word "appetite" is untranslatable, but the reader can understand how much lower this is by contrasting it with the mood described in the lines on p. 7 or in various other passages of "The Prelude."

ous desires of the aesthete, there never came a time in Meredith's career when he was not ravished by the appeal that Nature made to his *senses*. The "eye" which Wordsworth found an obstacle in the enjoyment of Nature,¹ remained till his last day, one of Meredith's cherished possessions. Even in those moments when his philosophy is put to the severest test, a sight such as the one of the "pure wild-cherry tree in bloom" restores him to his earlier confidence in, and love of Nature :—

"Now gazed I, where, sole upon gloom,
As flower-bush in sun-specked crag,
Up the spine of the double combe
With yew-boughs heavily cloaked,
A young apparition shone;
Known, yet wonderful, white
Surpassingly; doubtfully known,
For it struck as the birth of Light....."²

This would seem to bear some resemblance to the mood of mind described by Wordsworth in the lines quoted above, only the occasion (his wife's death), and the depth of feeling that the sight of "the pure wild-cherry tree in bloom" produced on Meredith, would rule out such criticism as altogether inept.

¹ Cf. : "The Prelude" : (Ed : Selincourt) B XII, l. 116 et. seq :

...Bent overmuch on superficial things,
Pampering myself with meagre novelties
Of colour and proportion : to the moods,
Of time and season, to the moral power,
The affections and the spirit, of the place,
Insensible.....
I speak in recollection of a time
When the bodily eye, in every stage of life
The most despotic of our senses, gained
Such strength in *me* as often held my mind..."

It will be noted here that the "eye" is spoken of as acting against the highest powers of the poet's "mind".

² Vol. II, A Faith on Trial (p. 247), written after the death of his second wife, in 1885. The letters written on this occasion to John Morley and other friends, ("Letters", Vol. II, pp. 360, 362, 373, 377,) are useful as giving us the deepest expression of Meredith's thoughts on the problem of immortality. But they are frequently strained, because of the writer's desire to say everything in a few words.

The same insistence on the revelation of Beauty in Nature through the senses persists in the great "Hymn to Colour." Mr. Trevelyan in his analysis of the poem speaks of the allegorical use of "Colour" as meaning "Love, or rather.....that passionate poetical realisation of the spiritual value of earthly things of which Love is the greatest exemplar." Through the instrumentality of this "poetical realisation," the revelation that man's soul, Colour's mate, will have, will strengthen it in the faith that there is a purpose behind Nature's workings : through the ministration of Colour in the past,

... "men have come out of brutishness

To spell the letters of the sky and read

A reflex upon earth else meaningless..." and thus can look forward to the time, when

"More gardens will they win than any lost;

The vile plucked out of them, the unlovely slain.

Not forfeiting the beast with which they are crossed,

To stature of the Gods will they attain..." and though offspring of Earth, they shall in turn

"...uplift the Earth to meet her Lord

Themselves the attuning chord!"¹

This harping on the beautiful in Nature, whether only as stimulating the senses to quicker activity and a more eager interest in the world of eye and ear, or as a deeper revelation, acting almost as a divine impulse that makes Life progress from the less to the more perfect, is a frequent note in Meredith's poetry. In "The Woods of Westermain," the perception of beauty in simple natural sights is extolled as giving life greater value than worldly success :

"On the throne Success usurps

You shall see the joy you feel

¹ "Hymn to Colour", Vol. II, p. 261 et. seq.

Where a race of water chirps
 Twisting hues of flourished steel..."¹

The men and women who hold their souls in sway, may even reach the central vision of the Sacred wood—

Whither, in her central space
 Spouts the Fount and Lure o' the chase
 Fount unresting, Lure divine !

It is open to the hostile critic to say that this is only a distortion and an over-simplification of our intuitions, but the sincerity of attitude can hardly be denied.² The same utter sincerity is present in the lines where Meredith claims to come out of a trial with his faith unshaken and unchanged : apostrophising the beauty of "the white wild-cherry, a tree," he goes on to say that at that early hour on a May-morning, the tree though only

"Earth-rooted, tangibly wood..." became
 "Yet a presence throbbing alive :
 Nor she in our language dumb :
 A spirit born of a tree ;
 Because Earth-rooted alive :
 Huntress of things worth pursuit
 Of souls; in our meaning, dreams..."

The beauty spoken of here is, however, complete in itself, it does not need another world, as the Platonic notion of Beauty does, to find its full expression. Meredith does not believe in a

¹ "The Woods of Westermain", Vol. II, p. 35 et. seq. Cf. Mr. Sencourt's Life, and his statement about the "Woods of Westermain" p. 202, p. 213.

² Cf. "Wordsworth in the Tropics" (quoted from Aldous Huxley : "Rotunda" Chatto and Windus, 1932, p. 874-75). "The Wordsworthian adoration of Nature has two principal defects. The first...is that it is only possible in a country where Nature has been nearly or quite enslaved to man. The second is that is is only possible for those who are prepared to falsify their immediate intuitions of Nature. For Nature, even in the temperate zone, is always alien and inhuman, and occasionally diabolic. Meredith explicitly invites us to explain any unpleasant experiences away. We are to interpret them, Pangloss fashion, in term of a preconceived philosophy : after which, all will surely be for the best in the best of all possible Westermaines"...

transcendent world, where all that is earthly shall be sublimated and purified into an ethereal loveliness, nor does he feel that the aboriginal Beauty of God can be realised only in partial glimpses on Earth. For him "Earth of the beautiful breasts" ("A Faith on Trial") is enough, and the revelation made here needs absolutely no other higher sphere to become a thing of value. He did not, like Plato, represent true beauty as being, unable to exist on earth, "heavenly, immortal, spiritual,"¹ the "earthly, perishable, and sensuous" aspects of beauty lifted him up to such a mood of rapture as permeates the following lines from "The South-Wester,"

Only at gathered eve knew we
 The marvels of the day.....
 That Lady of the hues of foam
 In sun-rays; who close under dome,
 A figure on the foot's descent,
 Irradiate to vapour went,
 As one whose mission was resigned;
 Despised, undraped, resolved to threads.
 Melting she passed into the mind
 Where immortal with mortal weds.
 Whereby was known that we had viewed
 The union of our earth and skies
 Renewed; nor less alive renewed
 Than when old bards, in nature wise,
 Conceived pure beauty given to eyes,
 And with undyingness imbued..."²

II

Prof. Beach, in his recent study has maintained the thesis that the worship of Nature is a phenomenon dating from the eighteenth century, and has now been discarded as unworthy of

¹ Inge, W. R. "Studies of English Mystics", p. 176 (John Murray, 1921).

² Vol. II, p. 218.

poetic attention because people have come to find out its emptiness. Yet, though it would be difficult to answer the first objection raised by Mr. Aldous Huxley, viz. that "the adoration of Nature is possible only in a country where [she] has been nearly or quite enslaved to man," the second objection, viz., that anybody upholding such a creed is guilty of deliberately falsifying "his immediate intuitions" is probably not entirely unanswerable from the Meredithian point of view. There is no want of a duality of vision in the poet, and the harsher aspects of Nature's life are not ignored, nor are they quite "explained away" in the way that Mr. Huxley would seem to suggest. In "Earth and Man" the harshness of Nature's ways is mentioned in most unambiguous terms, and Meredith, agnostic that he is, declares Man to be earth's "great venture," not her lord and master, as a group of scientists were making out at about the same date:

"Once worshipped Prime of Powers,
She [Earth] still was the Implacable: as a beast,
She struck him down, and dragged him from the feast
She crowned with flowers,...¹

and so far is she from being merely the benevolent mother that

"He may entreat, aspire,
He may despair, and she has never heed
She drinking his warm sweat will soothe his need,
Not his desire..."

Though Earth owes much to Man,

"For holy her loveliness a love well won
By work that lights the shapeless and the dun
Their common foes"...

during the period of probation through which Man is yet passing she is "twi-minded of him, as the waxing tree,
Or dated leaf..."

¹ Vol. II, p. 92.

Only those that dare to face the rigours¹ with which she visits them, are loved of Earth; in his poem entitled "Hard Weather" he says :

"Look in the face of men who fare
 Lock-mouthed, a match in lungs and thews
 For this fierce angel of the air, (the bitter east wind)
 To twist with him, and take his bruise.
 That is the face beloved of old
 Of Earth, young mother of her brood :
 Nor broken for us shows the mould
 When muscle is in mind renewed :
 Though farther from her nature rude
 Yet nearer to her spirits' hold ..."²

The spirit of Earth "winnows, winnows roughly : sifts,
 To dip her chosen in her source :
 Contention is the vital force,
 Whence pluck they *brain*, her prize of gifts."

To anybody reading the whole of the poem, one point will be obvious, and that is Meredith's advance on, or more exactly, his divergence from, the position maintained by Wordsworth in the closing lines of "Tintern Abbey" and in numerous other passages: the friendliness or kindness of Nature's ways to man.³ Both are agreed that there is a purpose in Nature, and that the

¹ Meredith's energy was inexhaustible, numerous friends agree in their evidence on this point. This may have had something to do with his love of painting Nature in a mood of turmoil : e.g., "Spirit of Earth in Autumn," "The South-Wester" "Hard weather." M. Cazamian's remark (apropos of Byron, and the Romantics...) "Toutefois, les hommes capables d'aimer la nature dans ses violences, sont en général des énergiques a personnages fortes, et leur panthéisme a chance d'incliner au personnalisme" (*Études*, p. 41) ought to be remembered in this context.

² Vol. II, p. 212, et seq.

³ I am speaking here of the early Wordsworth; for it seems to me that there is a break between the poet of the "Lyrical Ballads" and the first draft of "The Prelude" and the writer of the "Ecclesiastical Sonnets", in spite of what Miss Batho has brought out in her study towards affirming a continuity.

end thought of by Nature, is the perfection of man's mind and soul. But to Meredith, Earth is not merely a supremely beautiful and loving entity, she is also the chastener,

“read her thought *to speed the race*¹
And stars rush forth of blackest night :...”

So that

“Her double visage, double voice
In oneness rise to quench the doubt,
This breath, her gift, has only choice
Of service, breathe we in or out.”

Only when Man has been chastened by “service,” will he be able to perceive the deepest truths of Earth :

“Love born of Knowledge, love that gains
Vitality as Earth it mates,
The meaning of the Pleasures, Pains,
The Life, the Death, illuminates...
For love we Earth, then serve we all ;
Her mystic secret then is ours :...”²

The divergence spoken of above is due to the fact that in those important years of Meredith's life 1850-1865, when he passed through his first disappointments in personal life, and in his literary ambitions, he came into contact with contemporary scientific thought, and nourished as he had been on Goethe's pro-scientific naturalism, he could accept the central aspects of this new philosophy, with a firm faith: its insistence on nationalism and agnosticism, its insistence on struggle, its faith in *progress* (*progress*, physical as well as mental), its belief in a final goal which will be good. Meredith did not insist on, or at least did not care to pay the same amount of attention to the element of chance³, to the aspect of degeneration in

¹ Vol. II, p. 224.

² Vol. II, p. 225.

³ Except in a few scattered lines, e.g., the lines quoted on p. 16.

the process of evolution¹, to the fact that the amount of pain and sacrifice involved are not proportionate to the advance made by Earth. Personal immortality as understood by the Christian was to him a delusion, a God interfering in the working of the Universe, an illogical and low creation of the human mind. He could only believe in the immortality of "Spirit", Spirit as manifest in Nature's ways.

His "Letters" bear out these notions. "If I speak" he writes "of a life that is a lasting life, it is not meant to be the life of the senses—which is a sensual dream of the Creeds—whereon our good Mother [Earth] looks blackest"²: to the wife of one of his dead friends, he is even more explicit, "And my friend, these men *live on in us*. And more, they are the higher work of Nature, which she will not let pass away. They have the eternal in them. I do not look on death as a victory over us:"³ and on the death of his old friend Admiral Maxse, "Still it cannot be quite death for a man so good and true as he—The unsuffering part of him lives with those that knew him"⁴... Of an "intervening Deity" he wrote to John Morley (speaking of the famous verse in Genesis, "God said : Let there be Light and there was Light")..... "This is effectively literary.....But of course we hold in consideration the difference of times. Believers in an intervening Deity will still hear the words from the pulpit as sublime, little imagining how they lower him."⁵ Or in another letter, this time to Lady Ulrica Duncombe, in expostulating with her on the subject of supplications to the Deity, for His interposition in human affairs, he said "Be sure that the Spiritual God is accessible at all moments to the soul desiring him, and would live in us, if we would keep the

¹ Except in a few scattered lines, e.g., the lines quoted on p. 16.

² Letters, Vol. II, p. 422.

³ Letters, Vol. II, p. 424; also the letter in rhyme on p. 605, to Herbert Trench : "...The good ship, Immortality, methinks has served her time. On the dread rock, Finality, She splits, a wreck sublime...."

⁴ Letters, Vol. II, p. 510.

⁵ Letters, Vol. II, p. 590.

breast clean. Only we cannot ask him to strike between us and his Laws..."¹.

From these and a few other similar fragments we come to realise one fact, that not only was Meredith not a Christian in the strict sense of the word, he was not even purely stoical in outlook, nor did he even uphold contemporary scientific determinism and agnosticism as the last word. Indeed the lover of Beauty in Nature, could hardly ever be purely scientific in his attitude to his sovereign goddess. He strove to seize the central truths of the contemporary scientific doctrine of Evolution, to fit them to his own poetic perception of Nature's life and beauty, and was therefore, unconsciously compelled to reject the pessimistic outlook and the insistence on Nature's complete indifference to man-made morality that became so marked a feature of scientific writers after the first burst of joy, following their victorious attack on the citadel of orthodoxy, had subsided. Meredith could never have accepted Herbert Spencer's statement, made apropos of Huxley's Essay "The struggle for existence in human society" (1888),... "I was shocking some members...by insisting on the non-moral character of Nature—immoral, indeed, I rather think I called it; pointing out that for ninety-nine hundredths of the time life has existed on the Earth (or one might say) nine-hundred and ninety-nine thousands, the success has been confined to those beings which, from a human point of view, would be called criminal. So, too, with the equal readiness of Nature to retrogress as to progress....." (Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer, by Duncan, 1908) Meredith attempted a synthesis between what is almost a Wordsworthian attitude of trust in Nature's ways, and of happiness and solace derived by contact with her,

¹ Letters, Vol. II, p. 582; it is a pity that neither in the "Hardman Papers" nor in any other volumes of recollections or memoirs do we have any clear statement from Meredith's lips about these high problems. His poems are helpful, but a prose statement would have probably been not less valuable.

and on the other hand the strenuous philosophy that the first group of English scientists brought into favour¹. The vital choice before man was, according to him,

“Or shall we run with Artemis
Or yield the breast to Aphrodite ?
Both are mighty ;
Both give bliss
Each can torture if derided ;
Each claims worship undivided,
In her wake would have us wallow...”²

Aphrodite, (the sensuous, beautiful aspect)

“Great Nature’s stern necessity
In radiance clothed, to softness quelled”...

draws man on to a moment of rapture, to be followed by torture if man has not been able to crush the old worm of the self in himself. If however Man has been able, even at the moment of rapture, to keep sway over himself, he has his guerdon. If Aphrodite has been accused of “meditated guile,”³ the charge is untrue, it is Man who is to blame :

¹ That later Victorian scientists were far from convinced of the benevolence of Nature, is obvious in such writers as Huxley.

² Vol. III, p. 185.

³ The debt of Meredith to Schopenhauer, and especially to his great essay on “The Metaphysics of Love” has never been traced. But Meredith was certainly deeply impressed by the German. e.g. his reference to Schopenhauer’s importance in a letter to Edward Clodd, “Memories” p. 158. The whole of the poem, “With the Persuader” reads like a poetic rendering of the Schopenhauerian essay; with one significant difference, the Will which Schopenhauer accuses of deliberate malignity, is here a conscious force, and kind in its nature. The reference to people who speak of “meditated guile” is patent.

Cf. Morley, Recollections Vol. II. “...he (Meredith) gave forth in the ringing tones of physical joy, his gospel of energy. Live with the world. No cloister. No languor. Play your part. Fill the day. ...Exist in every day communion with Nature. Nature bids you take all, only be sure you learn how to do without.” (The last sentence may be said to summarize the opening four Poems of “A Reading of Life” (1901) “The Vital Choice,” “With the Persuader,” “With the Huntress,” and “The Test of Manhood.” Vol. III, Pp. 185-207.)

"half savage must he stay, would he be crowned
The lover"...

Side by side with this there is the vision of "the Virgin Lady,"
Artemis... ... "her retinue is lean

Many rearward; streams the chase
Eager forth of covert; seen
One hot tide the rapturous race."

Is Man to fall down at her feet in worship?

"O to be with her there!" says the poet,
"She, that breath of nimble air,
Lifts the breast to giant power."

But only when Man has seen Nature in her fullness, in her twin aspects, as Aphrodite and as Artemis, does he become able to solve the riddle facing him :

"Obedient to Nature, not her slave;
Her lord if to her rigid Laws he bows ;...
His God the known, diviner to adore,
Shows Nature's savage riddles kindly solved.
Inconscient, insensitive, she reigns
In iron laws, though rapturous fair her face...
Back to the primal brute shall he retrace
His path, doth he permit to force her chains,
A soft Persuader coursing through his veins,
An icy Huntress stringing to the chase..."

This double-faced entity is the goddess that Man has to serve. It would seem from this that the accusation that Meredith saw nature and interpreted it, "Pangloss fashion, in terms of a preconceived philosophy" is hardly as just as it is brilliant. Meredith knows very well enough the two aspects of Nature,—Artemis and Aphrodite, as he poetically calls them—but in the synthesis he makes in his poetry he does not allow either of them a higher place than the other : both must be fused, as Nietzsche said, (of the mingling of Apollo-Dionysos), by

"some supreme effort of human will" into an indivisible entity. The evolution of Man, therefore, has not been without an element of rigour, and even at the present moment of Man's career, the same "iron laws" obtain in Nature.

III

But over and above everything Meredith insists on the element of order in Nature's ways. "There is" wrote Meredith "no irony in Nature" at the close of his life to Leslie Stephen (one of his old friends); if death must overtake one generation, it is only "to speed the race" onwards. Wordsworth, in one of his rare moments of realisation, had felt that in all Nature there was,...

"a central peace—.....

Subsisting at the heart of endless
Agitation,"

of the younger poet, it would not be wrong to suggest that the vision was so different as to be almost complementary. At the heart of Nature abides "endless agitation," but it is an agitation that follows its own law. The stoical element of Meredith's creed—the insistence on a Universe following one law, and aiming at one goal—is nowhere so strongly marked as in this aspect of his poetical faith.² If Prince Lucifer is confronted with a vision of the stars which are the brain of heaven, he looked, and sank since he saw that

¹ Letters, Vol. II, p. 555. "...Since last September I have not held a pen, except perforce to sign my name. It seems that I was near "the end—"within view," as my London doctor said...So here I am, of no use to anyone...We who have loved the motion of legs and the sweep of the winds, we come to this. But for myself, I will own that it is the Natural order. There is no irony in Nature"...and then somewhat illogically "God bless you, and sustain you.".....

² Inge : "Studies of the English Mystics", p. 178. "Not the sense of beauty, but of eternal and ubiquitous life—of an Universe animated throughout, and obeying one law—this thought, which is rather Stoical than Platonic, is most prominent in Wordsworth."

"Around the ancient track marched, rank on rank¹,
The army of unalterable Law."

There is the same confidence in these words as in the great apostrophe to Duty by Wordsworth

"Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;
And the most ancient heavens, through thee, are fresh
and strong"

All nature is alive and dynamic and besides obeys a central law. This law is probably best understood in some such group of aspects: change, recurrence, progress. Death can hardly, therefore, be a final moment for Meredith, "Spirit lives" says he in one of his letters, and the sentiment may be paralleled in many a line from his poetry. Only "Spirit" is not clearly defined by Meredith anywhere: his biographer, Mr. Sencourt rightly says of him "he believed, that in this life, the spirit alone lives really, but as to the meaning of the spirit, he had the vaguest ideas. "It seems to me that Spirit is... how, where, and by what means none can say."² Having served our purpose, we too must pass away, only the Spirit will live in the memory of friends³ and in the work that we have done. It was in some such mood of acceptance that he composed, what for so energetic a poet, are lines full of an almost Oriental resignation:

"A wind sways the pines
And below
Not a breath of wild air;
Still as the mosses that glow
On the flooring and over the lines

¹ Morley's phrase about "the gospel of energy" may be remembered in this connexion.

² Sencourt, "Life", p. 198.

³ Letters, Vol. 2., p. 424, "Death and life are neighbours, each the cause of the other; and the task for us, under stress of deprivation, is to take our loved ones into the mind, and commune with them spirit to spirit....."

Of the roots here and there.
 The pine-tree drops its dead ;
 They are quiet, as under the sea.
 Overhead, overhead
 Rushes life in a race
 As the clouds the clouds chase ;
 And we go,
 And we drop like the fruits of the tree
 Even we,
 Even so."

The wisdom of these lines, the sense of pathos and yet of resignation implicit in them, make them almost unsurpassable. Rarely was Meredith able to reach the mood of *harmony*, even in his moments of deepest insight there was an element of restlessness that conflicted with the mood so wonderfully described by Wordsworth :

Even the motion of our human blood
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
 In body, and become a living soul :
 While with an eye made quiet by the power
 Of *harmony*, and the deep power of joy,
 We see into the life of things.

But here for once, something closely akin to harmony is present, and the poem marks, in spite of its brevity, the summit of Meredith's poetic vision. This mood has been reached through Love, through "Colour" acting on his mate, the human soul : So that Nature can admonish the poet thus,

"Love me; and let the types break,
 Men be grass, rocks rivers, all flow ;
 All save the dream alike
 To the source of my vital in sap :
 The dream is the thought in the ghost;
 The thought sent flying for food ;

Eyeless, but sprung of an aim
 Supernal of Reason, to find
 The great Over-Reason, we name
 Beneficence : mind seeking Mind..."¹

Meredith was able, at such a moment, to emphasise the position he had elsewhere upheld, the sovereignty of Law in Nature; so that the three-fold revelation of Nature as Beauty, of Nature as Energy, of Nature as Law may be said to be the one on which his mind rested during the maturer years of his literary career.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[The place of publication is London unless otherwise mentioned.]

- (1) Meredith, George, "Poems" (3 vols.) Surrey Edition, The Times Book Club, 1912.
- (2) Meredith, George, "Letters" (2 vols.) collected and edited by his son, Constable & Co., 1912.
- (3) Sencourt, Robert, "Life of George Meredith", Chapman & Hall, 1929.
- (4) Le. Galliene, R., "George Meredith, some characteristics," with John Lane's bibliography.
- (5) " " " " "The Romantic Nineties", G. P. Putnam and sons, New York, 1926.
- (6) Ellis, S. M., "A Mid-Victorian Pepys" Constable & Co.
- (7) " " " " "The Hardman Papers", Constable & Co., 1930.
- (8) Clodd, Edward, "Memories", Watts & Co., 1926.

¹ Vol. II, p. 259, "A Faith on Trial."

- (9) Photiades, C., "George Meredith," Armand Colin,
Paris, 1910.
- (10) Fernandez, Ramon, "Messages" (Première Série),
Paris, N. R. F. 1926.
- (11) Cazamian, L., "Études de psychologie littéraire,"
Payot, Paris, 1913.
- (12) Cazamian, L., "L' Angleterre Moderne", Flammarion, Paris, 1914.
- (13) Inge, W. R., "Studies of the English mystics",
John Murray, 1921.
- (14) Urquhart, W. S., "Pantheism and the value of Life,"
Epworth Press, 1919.
- (15) Sully, J., "Pessimism," Kegan Paul, Trench,
Trübner, 1891.
- (16) Beach, J. W., "The concept of Nature in nineteenth
century English Poetry,"
Macmillan, New York, 1936.
- (17) Huxley, Alduous, "Rotunda," selected by the author,
Chatto and Windus, 1932.
- (18) Storr, Vernon, "The Growth of English Theology."
- (19) Binns, L.E., "Religion in the Victorian Era", Lutter-
worth Press, 1936.
- (20) Morley, John, (Lord), "Recollections", (2 vols.)
Macmillan.
- (21) Saurat, Denis, "Tendances," Les Editions du monde
moderne, Paris 1928.
- (22) Wordsworth, William, "The Prelude," (Ed. Ernest
de Selincourt) Oxford, 1926.

THE YORK "CREATION OF ADAM AND EVE"

By P. E. DUSTOOR
Department of English

In her *York Mystery Plays* (Oxford, 1885) Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith included the earlier or *B* version of the third pageant in the cycle, the Cardmakers' pageant of the Creation of Adam and Eve. She regarded this as a better copy than the later-inserted *A* text, and, if we set aside all questions of purely dialectal and orthographical correctness, the balance of superior readings is certainly with the text of her choice. For, as the critical edition here offered testifies, though *A*'s readings are better in lines 6, 27, and 79, its readings must yield place to those of *B* in lines 14, 31, 43, 53 and 60. Moreover, *A*'s frequent use of *e* for *i* and *i* for *e* is doubtless apt to mislead the modern reader—see, for example, lines 24, 51, 52, 83, and 88—and once even results in a faulty rime, *ryst : best* (86:88). On the other hand, it must be granted to *A* that it preserves the original Northern dialect of the cycle much more faithfully than does its rival. It will be enough to draw attention to the following points :

- (i) The times *ga : alswa* (6:8), *nane : alane* (17:19), *alane : bane* (33:35), *es : nes* (49:51), *brade : made* (58:60), *whare : mare* (66:68), as compared with the corresponding ones in *B*.
- (ii) The use of *a* for *o* in other than rime-words in lines 21, 39, 41, 48, 50, 51, 86.
- (iii) The presence of forms and words like *tyll* (39; *B* 'to'), *swylke* (55; *B* 'such'), *qvate* (64; *B* 'whatte'), *lonffe* (78; *B* 'lone').
- (iv) The regular use of *sall* as against *B*'s *shall*.

- (v) The use of *sall* as the 2nd person singular in line 37, where *B* reads *shalte*.
- (vi) The use of *sch* for *sh* in lines 11, 16, 23, 24, 36, 71, 84.
- (vii) The use of the terminations *-is* and *-id* for *-es* and *-ed* in lines 10, 16, 49, 50, 52, 57, 59, 61, 67, 94.
- (viii) The use of *p* and *z* for *th* and *y* in lines 14, 20, 28, 38, 42, 44, 48, 65, 67, 71, 73, 76, 78, 93, 96.

And if to the dialectal merits of *A* are added occasional peculiarly orthographical ones as manifested especially in superior times (as in lines 25 : 27, 78 : 80), it will, I think, be conceded that the slight superiority in scribal accuracy of *B*—which, indeed, becomes slighter when we consider the nature of the majority of *A*'s inferior readings—hardly justifies us, all things considered, in regarding *B*, after Miss Toulmin Smith, as more worthy of the honour of print than *A*.

I have, accordingly, selected the hitherto unprinted *A* text for this edition of the play. In presenting the text, I have adopted my own punctuation and expanded all abbreviations, indicating both omitted and overwritten letters by italics; all other divergences from the MS are mentioned in the footnotes. In the footnotes, I indicate too as *B* and *S* respectively, all variants (other than merely orthographical ones) furnished by the original *B* text and by Miss Toulmin Smith's text where it differs from the original. *B*'s readings, when adopted by me as superior to those of *A*, are distinguished in the text by being enclosed in brackets (thus).

In the Notes that follow the text I have endeavoured (as in my editions of the Chester *Fall of Lucifer* and the Newcastle *Noah's Ark* in Vols. VI and VIII of these *Studies*) to illustrate the more interesting peculiarities of its idiom and to compare its handling of the story of the creation of Adam and

Eve with other early writings on the subject.

[B. M. Add. MS. 35290]

CARDMAKERS

[Fo. 7b]

- Deus In heuyn And erthe duly Be-dene
 Of v days werke, euyn on-to ende,
 I haue complete by curssis clene;
 Me thynke þe space of þame well spende. 4
- In heuyn er angels fayre and brighte,
 Sternes and planetis þer curssis to ga,
 þe mone seruis onto þe nyght,
 The son to lyghte þe day alswa. 8
- In erthe is treys and gres to springe,
 Bestis and foulys, bothe gret and smalle,
 ffyschis in flode, all oþyr thyng ;
 Thryffe and haue my blyssyng all ! 12
- Thys werke is wroght now at my will,
 But ȝet can I (here) no best see
 þat a-cordys be kynde and skyll,
 And for my werke myght worschippe me. 16
- ffor perfytte werke ne ware it nane
 But ought ware made þat myght it ȝeme,
 ffor loue mad I þis warlde a-lanc,
 þerfor my losse sall in it seme. 20

Cardmakers) After Cardmakers, in an Elizabethan hand : this is entryd afterwards Deus) In MS all names of speakers are written on the right-hand side of the page. 1 Be-dene) Be dene MS 2 on-to) on to MS ende) þe ende B 4 thynke) thynketh B 6 þerþe B 14 I here no) is B, I no MS 15 a-cordys) a cordys MS be kynde and skyll) by kyndly skylle B 19 a-lanc) a lanc MS

To kepe þis warlde, bothe mare and lesse,
 A skylfull best þanc will I make
 Eftyr my schape and my lyknes,
 The wilke sall worschipe to m(c) take. 24

Off þe symplest part of erthe þat is here
 I sall make man, and for þis skyllc :
 ffor to a-bate hys haunttande chere,
 Bothe his gret pride and oper ille,— 28

And also for to haue in myndc
 How simpyll he is at hys makynge,
 ffor als febyll I sall (hym fynde)
 Qwen he is dede at his endyng. 32

ffor þis reson and skyll alone
 I sall make man lyke on-to me :
 Ryse vp, þou erthe, in blode and bane,
 In schape of man, I comwaunde þe ! 36

A female sall þou haue to fere,
 Her sall I make of þi lyft rybe,
 Alane so sall þou nough(t) be here,
 Withoutyn faythefull frende and sybe. 40

Takys now here þe gast of lyffe,
 And ressayue bothe zoure saules of me,
 (þis) femall take þou to þi wyffe :
 Adam and eue zour names sall be. 44

²¹ mare) on “o” written over the line between “m” and “a” ²² best) over “best” a later hand has inscribed “wyght.” ²⁴ me) so B, my MS ²⁷ a-bate) a bate MS haunttande B, hautand S. ³¹ hym fynde) so B, fynde hym MS ³⁴ on-to) on to MS ³⁷ sall) shalte B ³⁸ Her) Here B ³⁹ nought) so B, nough MS ⁴³ þis) so B, The MS ⁴⁴ In the right-hand margin, for insertion after 1.44, an Elizabethan hand adds :

And leyd your lyves in good degree;
 Adam here name I the,
 and Eve hit name shall be
 and be thy subgett right.

- Adam A, lorde ! full mekyll is *þi* mighte,
 and *þat* is sene in ilke a syde,
 ffor now (i)s here a ioyfull syght,
 To se *þis* worlde so lange and wyde ! 48
- Mony diuersis thyngis now here es,
 Off bestis and foulis bathe wylde and tame,
 zet is nan made to *þ(i)* liknes
 But we a-lone—a ! louyd b(e) *þi* name ! 52
- Eue To swylke a lorde in (all) degré
 Be euirmore lastande louynge,
 þat tyll vs swylke a dyngnite
 Has gyffyne be-fore all othyr thynges; 56
- And selcouth thyngis may we se here
 of *þis* ilke warld, so lange and brade,
 With bestis and fowlis so many and sere— [Fo. 8b]
 Blessid be he *þat* (hase) us made ! 60
- Adam A, blyssid lorde, now at *þi* wille
 Syne we er wroght, wochesaff to telle
 and also say vs two vn-tyll
 qwate we shall do and whare to (dw)ell ? 64
- Deus ffor *þis* Skyl made I ȝow *þis* day,
 My name to wortschip ay whare;
 Louys me for *þi* and louys me ay
 ffor my makyng ! I axke no mare. 68
- Bothe wys and witty shall *þon* be
 Als man *þat* I haue made of noght,
 Lordschipe in erthe þan graunt I þe,
 All thynges to serue þe *þat* I haue wroght. 72

47 is)so B, his MS 51 *þi*)so B, þe MS 52 a-lone) a lone MS be)
 so B, by MS 53 all)so B, all þe MS 55(tyll)to B 56 be-fore)be fore MS 60
 hase)so B, omit MS 62 Syne)Sethen B 63 vn-tyll)vn tyll MS 64 dwell)so
 B, dewell MS 72 I haue) is B.

In paradyse sall ze same wone,
 Of erthely thyng get ze no nede,
 Ille and gude both sall ze kone,
 I sall zow lerne zoure lyue to lede.

76

Adam A, lorde ! sene we sall do no thyng
 But louffe þe for þi gret gudnesse,
 We sall ay b(e)y to þi biddyng
 And fulfyll it, both more and less.

80

Eue His syng s(e)ne he has on vs sett
 Be-forne all (othir) thyng certayne,
 H(y)m for to loue we sall noght lett
 And worschip hym with myght and mayne.

84

Deus At heuyne and erth first I be-gane
 And vj days wroght or I walde r(e)st,
 My warke is endyde now at mane,
 All lykes me w(e)ll, but þis is best.

[Fo. 9a]

88

My blyssyng haue þai euer (and ay) !
 The seueynt day sall my restyng be,
 þus wille I sese, sothely to say,
 Of my doying in þis degre.

92

To blys I sall zow bryng,
 Comys forth, ze tow, with me !
 ze sall lyffe in lykyng
 My blyssyng wyth zow be !

Amen. 96

75 ze kone)MS reads like zet kone 79 ay bey)ay bay MS a beye B to
 þi biddyng) to þi gudnesse to þi biddyng B 81 sene) sone MS B, sen S
 82 Be-forne) Be forne MS, Before B othir) obithir MS 83 Hym)so B,
 Hem MS 85 Deus) in a later hand begane) be gane MS 86 rest)so B, ryst
 MS 88 well) will MS, wele B is best) þe best B 89 and ay) anday
 MS 96 Amen) After Amen follows in a faint Elizabethan hand the cue for
 the following pageant: nota caret Adam & Eve this is...(illegible)...that
 I haue grant you of my grace to haue your (illegible).

NOTES

[Of the abbreviations used the following need to be expanded here :

Adr. & Ep. = *Adrian & Egotys*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith in *A Common-Place Book of the Fifteenth Century*. London 1886.

Ch. = *The Chester Plays*. EETS.ES, 62.

C. M. = *Cursor Mundi*. EETS.OS, 57, etc.

J's Cr. = *The Creation of the World by W. Jordan*. Translated from Cornish by J. Keigwin and edited by D. Gilbert. London, 1827.

L. C. = *Ludus Coventriæ*. EETS.ES, 120.

Lyff = The Middle English prose *Lyff of Adam and Eve*.

O. M. = *Origo Mundi*. Translated and edited by E. Noris in *Ancient Cornish Drama*, Vol. I. London, 1859.

Ox. Cat. = *The Master of Oxford's Catechism*, ed. J. M. Kemble in *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*. London, 1848.

S.A.L. = C. Horstmann, *Sammlung Altenglischer Legenden*. Heilbronn, 1878.

Sal. & Sat. = The prose *Salomon and Saturn*, ed. J. M. Kemble in *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*. London, 1848.

T. = *The Towneley Plays*. EETS.ES, 71.

V. T. = *Le Mistère du Vieux Testament*, ed. Baron J. de Rothschild. 5 Vols. Paris, 1878-1885.

Y. = *The York Mystery Plays*, ed. Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith. Oxford, 1885].

This play is the only one in the cycle to be written throughout in simple quatrains, *a b a b*.⁴ Davidson is not sure if the present play was in the original cycle or has displaced an earlier one; but the conventional nature of the speeches of

Adam and Eve, "as bearing marked traces of the church play," inclines him to believe that "York III may be an old church play that has supplanted the original play of the cycle" (*English Mystery Plays*, p. 269). It seems to me that this play did not form part of the original cycle but was inserted into it when an elaboration of the story of the Creation and Fall into several pageants took place. And if we accept Miss Lyle's contention in *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles* (Minneapolis, 1919) that the York and Towneley plays were originally identical and that, in the Creation group, Towneley is nearer the parent text, then it can even be argued that the play before us was neither brought in from outside nor written entirely without reference to that portion of the earlier Creation pageant which it replaced. For, there is a significant agreement on two points between the York and Towneley texts as against both the *Book of Genesis* and the other English Mysteries. I allude to the naming of Adam and Eve by God and to the parallel in both sentiment and language between line 75 of our play and line 169 of the Towneley *Creation*, neither of which points has been noticed by Miss Lyle. (See my notes on lines 44 and 75).

4. *Me thynke.* See my note to *Ch. I*, 175 in these *Studies*, Vol. VI (1930), p. 50.

9. *gres to springe.* On the infinitive of motive or purpose, see Matzner, *Grammar*, Vol. III, p. 46.

10. For the creation of the beasts of the field on the fifth day see Play II, 148-156. This is contrary to *Genesis* i, 20-25, but is found also in *T. I*, 55-60; *Ch. II*, 57-72; *L. C. II*, 12f; *J's Cr.* p. 9; *O. M.* 41-48; *V. T.* 634ff; and, in its own way, in *Adr. & Ep.* 133f. We may compare the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*:

"Then evening came and morning came the fifth day. On the fifth day I commanded the sea that it should bring forth fishes, and feathered birds of many varieties, and

all animals creeping over the earth, going forth over the earth on four legs, and soaring in the air, male sex and female, and every soul breathing the spirit of life." (xxx,

7. Charles, *Apoc. & Pseudep. of the O. T.*, Vol. 2).

In the *T.* and *Ch.* plays above referred to, however, the beasts are also spoken of as very regularly created on the sixth day : see *T.* I, 162ff and *Ch.* II, 73ff.

13-24. Nothing of the sort appears in any of the other English Mysteries, but we may compare *V. T.* 690-97; Ovid, *Meta.* I, 76ff; Avitus, *De Initio Mundi*; and *Paradise Lost*, VII, 505-516.¹

19, 20. Cf. *The Wisdom of Solomon*, xi, 24; Philo. *De Opif. Mundi*, vi; *De Cherub.*, xxxxv; *De Sacrif. Abel*, xv.

22. *I make.* This corresponds more to *L.C.* II, 14, 15 and the Syriac version of the Old Testament than to the Vulgate, with its "faciamus," or to *T.* I, 165; *Ch.* I, 265ff; II, 82; *O. M.* 57-60 etc., which follow the Vulgate.

23. It would appear that here, as in *Ch.* II, 81-85, *O. M.* 60, 67, 68, *J's Cr.* pp. 27, 35, and *Adr. & Ep.* 518, the conception is purely anthropomorphic. Cf. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, V, c. 6, and Tertullian, *The Resurrection of the Flesh*, c. 6. On the other hand, the common Christian doctrine of a purely spiritual likeness popularized by Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, XI, c. 23; *Contra Manich.* XVII), Chrysostom (*Homil. in Genes.* VIII), Bede (*Pentateuch—Gen.* (ed. Migne) col. 200) and others is reflected in Aelfric's *Hexameron*, C. M., and in the Adam History contained in Caxton's *Golden Legend*.

25. None of the Mysteries goes beyond the bare biblical suggestion that Adam was made outside Eden. But frequently in medieval writings it is definitely stated that he was made in the Field of Damascus; see, e.g., Comestor, *Hist. Schol.* (Gen.) xiii; *Cant. Tales*, B 3197; Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, 500. And sometimes still more specifically is it stated that the place was that portion of the Field of Damascus known as the Vale of

Hebron: see, e.g., C. M. 405f; *Adr. & Ep.* 516f; *De Princ. Creat. Mundi* (Horstmann, *Alteng. Legenden*, p. 350); Mandeville, *Travels* (Matzner, *Alteng. Sprachproben*, I, pt. 2, pp. 184, 185); and the majority of the versions of the *Lyff*. Cf. Grünbaum, *Nene Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893), p. 63. But a wide-spread tradition favoured Jerusalem as the alleged centre of the earth (see Grünbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 78), and a Christian variety of this identified the birthplace of Adam with Bethlehem, the birthplace of the Second Adam, Christ. This is reflected in the Bodleian, Wheatley and Harleian (MS 1704) versions of the *Lyff* (*Archiv*, Vol. LXXIV, p. 345; Day, *The Wheatley Manuscript*, pp. 76, 77, and xxx). Even Paradise, in spite of *Genesis*, had its advocates: see *Apocalypse of Moses*, xxi, 40, and Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, Q. 102, art. iii; and Gower, perhaps unconsciously, echoes them in *Conf. Amantis*, VIII, 26, 27.

25-28. *The Prick of Conscience*, 372ff, and Lyndesay's *Monarche*, 707ff, also mention this reason for making Man out of the foulest matter, and the former adds to this the spiting and shaming of Lucifer, whose place Man is to fill. On the other hand, while in these texts, as also in the Vernon MS *Lyff* (S. A. L. p. 221, l. 47), the clay chosen is said to be simple or foul or vile, it is characterized as "briȝt & schynynge as þe sunne" in the Wheatley, Bodleian and allied versions of the *Lyff* (Day, *op. cit.*, p. 77; *Archiv*, LXXIV, pp. 345, 354), and as "gente" in *De Principio Creationis Mundi*, 71-74. For this latter view, cf. Philo, *De Opif. Mundi*, xlvi; *Genesis Rabba*, xiv, 8; *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, xi, xii, etc., and see Grünbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Nor, it may be added, is Adam always regarded as made of earth alone. Other substances are often said to have entered into his composition: see Kemble, *Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*, pp. 190, 194, 217; *Adr. & Ep.* 173ff; Wheatley, Bodleian, Ashmole and allied versions of the *Lyff* (Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78, 113; *Archiv*, LXIV, pp. 345, 354); and C. M. 517ff.

These represent the tradition of *The Gospel of Barnabas* (Ragg's Trans.), pp. 282f; *The Book of Adam and Eve*, I. c. 70; Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx, 8; Philo, *Legum Alleg.* II, 7; etc. Cf. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 178, and *The Koran*, iii, 51; xxxii, 5; lxxv, 34; xcvi, 1. And the earth, or whatever is required for the making of Adam, is not always just picked up from one spot, as in our play and in most early English accounts. In the Wheatley and allied versions of the *Lyff* (Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77; *Archiv*, LXXIV, pp. 345, 354) angels are commissioned to bring the matter from the four corners of the earth, and for similar legends we may refer to James, *Apoc. N. Test.*, p. 178; the Persian *Rauzat-us-Safa*, Vol. I, i, p. 41; and Grünbaum, *op. cit.* pp. 55, 58, 61, 62.

29-32. Cf. *Genesis*, iii. 19; *Job*, x, 9.

33. But the reason given is not for making Man like unto God, but for making him of earth.

35. *Ryse vp.* None of the Mysteries mentions the age or stature of Adam and Eve at their creation. But with Augustine's "in aetate perfecta" (*De Gen. ad Litt.* VI, c. 13) and Comestor's "in virile aetate" (*Hist. Schol.* ch. xii) before him the author of *C. M.* speaks of Adam as "mad of mans eild" (585), and for its part the O. E. *Genesis* says that both Adam and Eve were born in the loveliness of youth (187, 188). The age most favoured, however, was thirty: see *Hist. Schol.* ch. xxv; *Sal. & Sat.*, *Sydrake* & *Boccus* and *Ox. Cat.* (Kemble, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 194, 217); the Adam History in Caxton's *Golden Legend*; and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, 505. But sixty and twenty also had their advocates; see Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, VI, c. 6; *Gen. Rabba*, xxiv, 2; and Ginzberg, *Die Haggada*, pp. 31, 32. As for legends relating to the size of the First Pair, we have a reflection of them in *Sal. & Sat.* and *Ox. Cat.* (Kemble, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 217), with which we may compare *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, xi; *Gen. Rabba*, viii, 1, xxiv, 2; *Chagigah* (ed. Sterne) p. 58; and Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, I, c. 34.

35-44. *Genesis* really provides us with two accounts, distinct and irreconcilable, of the creation of Man and Woman. According to the so-called Priestly version of the first chapter, they were made simultaneously in the image of God; according to the so-called Jehovistic version of the second chapter, Man was made of earth outside Eden, and only after he had been placed in Eden was Woman created there out of a rib of his. Naturally attempts were made to reconcile these conflicting accounts. There was the fantastic rabbinical view referred to by both Milton and Sir Thomas Browne that "masculum et feminam" of *Genesis*, i, implied that Adam was created androgynous (see Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, pp. 27, 293; Petavius, *De Op. Sex Dierum*, II, c. 6; *Milton's Prose Works* (Bohn Lib.) Vol. III, p. 324; *Pseudodoxia*, III, c. 17; *Religio Medici*, I, sect. 21). Comestor refers to another Jewish belief, namely that Adam had two wives, one created outside, and the other inside, Eden (see, e.g. *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, xxiii, 1, and cf. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, I, 2, i, 2). He also comments on Josephus's opinion that Eve was formed outside Eden and later brought into it together with Adam (*Hist. Schol.* ch. xvii). But Josephus was not alone in this belief. I can cite the following texts as maintaining that Eve was formed subsequent to Adam and out of his rib and yet outside Eden: *Book of Jubilees*, iii, 5-9; Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx, 17; *Book of Jasher* i, 4-7; Avitus, *De Initio Mundi*; the Anglo-Norman *Adam*, 9ff; *L. C.* II, 18; *T. I.*, 186; and the text before us. As against these are the following, which speak of her creation inside Eden: O. E. *Genesis*, 169ff; *Gen. & Exod.* 224ff; *De Prin. Creat. Mundi*, 88; the Vernon MS *Lyff* (S. A. L. p. 221); *C. M.* 629; *Fall of Princes*, 512; *Ch. II*, 129ff; *Norwich Play*, A 2ff, B 10; O. M. 99ff; *J's Cr.* p. 31; *V. T.* 764ff. Now, to confine ourselves to the five extant English Mysteries on the subject, we discover, further, that while the *Norwich Play* openly and clearly follows the narrative of *Genesis*, ii, and while, for their part, the *T.* and *L. C.* Creation plays adhere

strictly to neither of the two biblical accounts, of the irreconcilability of which they are, indeed, unconscious, the Y. and Ch. plays seek to harmonize and utilize both of them. Thus, in Ch. II, though, as in the Jehovistic version, Man is made first and Eve is formed later out of his rib, yet the playwright eases his conscience with regard to the Priestly version, firstly, by making God declare at the very outset and while He is creating Man in His own image that "Man and woman I will there be", and, secondly, by separating the putting of life into Man from the fashioning of his body by a reference to the seventh day. (Cf. *Paradise Lost*, VII, 519-534). In like manner, in the play before us, though Woman is shaped after and out of Man, as in *Genesis* ii, yet it is surely as a concession to the "masculum et feminam creavit eos" of *Genesis* i that life is given simultaneously to the pair (41, 42). Thus Eve too is here (as not in Ch. II) inevitably regarded as born outside Eden. This moreover, accounts for the displacement from their exact scriptural contexts of the granting of dominion to the pair, the placing of Adam in Paradise, and the prohibition, as also for the absence of all mention of the beast-parade and Adam's deep sleep.

38. *Ljft rybe*. Cf. *Adrian & Rithess* (Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 198), *De Prin. Creat. Mundi*, 87f, and *Paradise Lost*, IV, 484, VIII, 465ff, X, 884ff. There is no warrant for this in *Genesis*, ii, 21, but the belief was wide-spread: see Avitus, *De Initio Mundi* (Migne), col. 327; *Gospel of Barnabas*, (Ragg), p. 91; *Ranzat-us-Safa*, Vol. I, p. 45; and cf. Fraser, *Folklore in the O. T.* (Abtgd. Edtn.), p. 5. For other views—including a thirteenth rib tradition—see Friedlander's notes to *Prike de R. Eliezer*, p. 87; Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, p. 27; *Par. Lost*, X, 884-888; *Pseudodoxia*, VIII, c. 2. And for the notion, fostered doubtless by *Genesis*, ii, 23, that Eve was made from Adam's flesh no less than bone, see Ch. II, 134f, and the Adam history in the Caxtonian *Golden Legend*, reflecting *Hist. Schol.* ch. xvii; cf. also

L. C. II, 100f, *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, xii, and *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, vi, 15.

39, 40. Here we have a straightforward rendering of *Genesis*, ii, 18, but the scriptural passage beginning with this verse was sometimes fancifully glossed. Thus, it was sometimes said that Adam asked for a helpmate: see *Gen. Rabba*, xvii; *Rashi's Commentary on Genesis*; O. E. *Genesis*, 816-819; O. M. 91f; *Par. Lost*, VIII, 357ff. And as for the beast-parade, for the absence of which from our play we have already accounted (see note on ll. 35-44 above), it was not always perceived that the creatures were led up to Adam not merely to be named by him but also to enable him to realize that a suitable helpmate was not to be found among them: see, e.g., Aelfric's *Homily on Creation*, C. M. and Ch. II. And it is on this account that the beast-parade is, in some texts, made a purely nomenclatory occasion and actually follows, instead of preceding, the making of Eve (see L. C. II, 100ff, where herbs and grass and Eve herself are presented to Adam to be named by him; O. M. 93-140; and J's *Cr.* p. 31), and, in others, is wanting altogether (see *Book of Jasher*; *Avitus De Initio Mundi*; Anglo-Norman *Adam*; *De Prin. Creat. Mundi*; T. I; V. T.).

42. Here, as in O. E. *Genesis*, 184f, it is definitely maintained that Eve's soul, no less than Adam's, was of directly divine origin; but the question was much debated: see Tertullian, *De Anima*, xxxvi; Augustine, *De Gen. ad Litt.*, VII, X; and Comestor, *Hist. Schol.*, xvii.

44. That God named them both is not said in *Genesis*. He did, indeed, it seems call the man Adam, and he was so called, some said, because he was made out of "adamah", the ground (*Prike de R. Eliezer*, xii; Hershon, *op. cit.*, p. 295), and others, because he was made of "adom" or "red" earth (Josephus, *Antiq.* I, 34; Gregory, *Moralia*, XVIII, c. 75; Comestor, *Hist. Schol.* xviii; *Works of Thomas Nashe* (McKerrow), Vol. III, p.

363; Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, II, sc. i). Others again very differently taught that the four letters comprising the name represented the four points of the compass (see *Sibylline Oracles*, iii, 24-26; Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx, 13, 14; *Cypriani Opera Omnia* (Hartel), appendix pp., 107, 108; Augustine, *Homil. in John*, IX, 14; *Expos. in Psalms*, XCVI, 13; Bede, *Pentateuch—Genes.* iv); and this view finds expression in C. M. 589ff; *Sal. & Sat.* and *Ox. Cat.* (Kemble, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 217); and in all the versions of the *Lyff*. As for the name Eve, according to *Genesis*, it was given to the woman neither by God nor at this stage. It is only after the Fall that she is called Eve for the first time, and then too by Adam (*Genesis*, iii, 20). Immediately after she is created Adam calls her Virago (in the Vulgate) or Ishah (in the original Hebrew; cf. *Gen.* & *Exod.* 232f). Nevertheless, in disregard of the letter of *Genesis*, some texts make Adam call her Eve as soon as she is created: see Aelfric's *Homily on Creation*; O. E. *Homilies* (1st Series), p. 221; *Rançat-us-Safa*, Vol. I, p. 59; *Book of Jasher*, i, 5. And our playwright is kept in countenance by at least T. I, 198, and the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx, 18, in both of which God calls the newly-created woman Eve.

64. *whare to dwell.* For this use of the gerundial infinitive after "shall," cf. *Guy of Warwick*, 2612, and Zupitza's note to 1925-6.

65-84. Kamann (*Anglia*, X, p. 191) is wrong in saying that in *Genesis* i, 28-30 Man alone is granted dominion over the earth; dominion is there assured to both Man and Woman (see Holthausen in *Archiv*, LXXXV, p. 426). And our play follows this except that Deus's words, especially in lines 69-72, seem to be directed more towards Adam than towards his companion. The same can be said of the next play in this cycle, for though in lines 17-20 and 60-65 Adam alone seems to be addressed, on this matter, we gather from lines 1-16 and 41-44 that God means to give dominion to both. Lordship is,

likewise, granted to the pair in Aelfric's *Hexameron*, O. E. *Genesis*, 198ff; V. T. 838ff; and *The Fall of Princes*, 519f. On the other hand, Adam alone is made master in the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, lviii, 3; Avitus, *De Initio Mundi*; *Gen. & Exod.* 211f; *De Prin. Creat. Mundi*, 78, 100; Ch. II, 89-92, 125, 126; L. C. II, 57f; Anglo-Norman *Adam*, 61ff; O. M. 69f; J's Cr. p. 29; and T. I, 166, 167, 171-173, 216, 217 (though line 169 runs: "Ye both to gouerne that here is").

75. According to *Genesis*, iii, 22, the knowledge of good and evil was to come of eating the forbidden fruit; but it was sometimes argued that even before eating it, Man knew evil theoretically if not experientially: see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, xxxviii, xxxix; Theodoret, *Quest. in Genesis*; Chrysostom, *Homily XVI in Genesis*; Comestor, *Hist. Schol.* xiii; and cf. Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx 15. This would account for the anticipatory remark in the line we are considering as also for similar passages in Anglo-Norman *Adam*, 65ff; T. I, 169; *Ratis Raving* (ed. Lumby) 499ff; *Tract. Wm. Nassington* (EETS. OS, 26), 95ff; and the Vernon MS *Lyff* (S. A. L. p. 221).

83. "We shall not fail to love man." For *let..for to* meaning 'fail to, desist from,' cf. *William of Palerne*, 1186 ("lettes nouȝt for ȝoure liues ȝour lord for to socoure") and 2184 ("leten he nolde forto saue and serue"); see also Ch. III, 327. For a similar construction with *let* meaning 'hinder, obstruct,' see L. C. XXXVIII, 168; T. XVIII, 89f; *Cant. Tales*, A 1893f.

88. This, as also perhaps Ch. II, 99f, is a distortion of *Genesis*, i, 31. Indeed in the Adam history in Caxton's *Golden Legend* it is distinctly pointed out that "When God made man it is not written: 'Et vidit quod esset bonum,' quia in proximo sciebat eum lapsurum." And Comestor, from whom this is borrowed, adds that man, moreover, was as yet imperfect, woman being still uncreated (*Hist. Schol.* x).

89-92. *Adr. & Ep.* (146ff), is, I think, unique in making God spend the seventh day in blessing all his creatures and

SECTION II
PHILOSOPHY

SANKARA'S THEORY OF CONSCIOUSNESS

By A. C. MUKERJI

Reader in Philosophy, Allahabad University

The development of philosophical thought is, not in a small measure, due to the rise of the sceptical spirit which paves the way to sound speculations by exposing the self-contradictory basis of dogmatism. Scepticism, therefore, is invariably a sign of the maturity and vitality of reason. There is, however, an unhealthy type of scepticism which, far from providing a stepping-stone to further progress and maturer growth, has always acted as a clog in the way of rational speculations; it doubts everything without looking at its own foundations, it carries on its destructive campaign against every established belief and institution without stopping to examine the ground upon which it itself stands. Any one who surveys reflectively the main currents of contemporary thought would have no difficulty in detecting that the majority of the currents have an unmistakable tendency towards a position that can hardly be distinguished from this unhealthy scepticism. The result is that a lot of mist has gathered around some of the most fundamental principles of thought and existence. The object of the following lines is to attempt a partial dissipation of the mist with the aid of an Indian analysis of one of these basic principles, namely, the principle of consciousness.

In a well-known passage of his commentary on the *Prasnopaniṣad*, Saṅkara attempts a classification of the principal theories of consciousness each of which had its enthusiastic exponents in the history of Indian speculation. The advaita theory of consciousness is here distinguished from as many as four other theories which are carefully scrutinized and ultimately

rejected as based upon an imperfect analysis of experience. These rival theories are defined as follows:—(1) that which looks upon consciousness as something that is every moment born and destroyed, (2) the theory which denies the very reality of consciousness, (3) that which regards consciousness to be an evanescent property of a permanent self, and (4) the theory according to which consciousness is the quality of matter.¹ It is easy to see that almost every theory of consciousness that is still in the forefront of philosophical discussion today can be classified under one or the other of the different heads mentioned here. And an examination of some of the outstanding theories of contemporary philosophy in the light of the advaita analysis may, therefore, be of fascinating interest for the modern thinkers.

The polemical mood in which Sankara expounds the advaita theory of consciousness frequently obscures the important hints he gives of a constructive theory, and it will, therefore, be useful to start with an initial statement of the main features of his position. The most important and far-reaching of his contentions is to be found in what may be called the foundational character of knowledge or consciousness. It ought to be accepted as a universal rule, he insists, that there can be no objects of knowledge without knowledge.² None can prove something that is not known, and the attempt to prove it would be as absurd as to maintain that there is no eye though the form is apprehended.³ The objects may change their essence, but consciousness cannot be said to change inasmuch as it witnesses all objects irrespective of the place where they may happen to be; the fact-of-being-known is thus implied by all objects without exception.⁴ Even when something is supposed

¹ *Commentary on the Praśnopaniṣad*, VI, 2.

² *Na bi jñāne asati iñeyam nāma bhavati kasyacit.*

³ *Kincit na jñāyate iti anupapannam, rūpam ca drṣyate na ca asti cakṣuriti yaikā.*

⁴ *Svarūpavyabhicāreṣu padārtheṣu caitanyasyāvyabhicārāt yathā yathā yo yah*

to be non-existent, this very non-existence cannot be proved in the absence of knowledge.¹

The second feature of the advaita analysis of consciousness lies in its insistence that consciousness is always distinct from the object of consciousness, the things, therefore, should on no account be identified with the consciousness which makes them its objects. From this follow two corollaries; namely, that consciousness cannot be its own object and that every object of consciousness is unconscious or material.

Out of these four cardinal points of the advaita theory of consciousness, the first would easily put a modern student in mind of the central contention of an influential school of thought which is generally known as the idealistic school. Since Kant's analysis of knowledge it has been a recognised tenet of the idealistic theory of knowledge that consciousness is the *principium* of reality, inasmuch as all things must be "determined in relation to the conscious self, as the one condition which we can lay down for them *a priori*."² In fact, the development of post-Kantian idealism bears eloquent testimony to the vitality of the advaita position, and the former may in this respect be regarded as an elaborate exposition and ramification of the latter.³

Consciousness, when regarded in this light, is the ultimate principle of revelation for which alone the world of objects has a meaning; it is not a relation between two elements, on the contrary, it is the light which manifests all objects and all relations between the objects. It is "the centre of the whole

padartha vijñāyate tathā tathā jñāyamānatvādeva tasya tasya caitanyasyāiyabbhicāritvam vastutatvam bhavati.

¹ *Abhāvayāpi jñeyatvāt jñānābhāve tadanupapatteb.*

² E. Caird, *The Critical Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 353.

³ Compare, for instance, Green's remark that "all knowing and all that is known, all intelligence and intelligible reality, indifferently consists in a relation between subject and object," and, consequently, the generic element in our definition of the knowable universe is "that it is such a relation."—*Works i*, 386. See also Lord Haldane, *The Reign of Relativity*, p. 150.

world comprising the objects, the senses and the mind, and it has neither inside nor outside, it is altogether a mass of knowledge.”¹

This is generally known as the centre theory of self; the conscious self, according to it, occupies the central place of the universe, inasmuch as all objects owe their meaning and significance to the relations in which they stand to the self that essentially is consciousness. It is from this standpoint that the self is also described as the *Sākṣī* which witnesses all objects and all changes in the objects, it is *sarvapratyayadarśī* and *citsaktisvarūpamātra*.² The entire world is revealed only through the light of the self, “just as the light of the sun is the condition of the manifestation of all form and colour.”³ This is excellently expressed by Sureśvara when he remarks that the self and the not-self are established in the world through perception and other means of knowledge, but the not-self is in every case established only on the presupposition of the existence of the self.⁴ For a surprisingly similar language one may turn to Prof. B. Varisco’s observations that objective existence “is *my cognition*, cognition of an experience belonging to myself, and obtained by an activity of my own; it would not exist, if I did not exist.”⁵ Hence all objects are said to be *ātmapūrvaka*. To put it in the language of modern idealism, existence-for-self is the highest category to which must conform all objects. Matter, mind, electron, proton, etc., have any meaning for us only in so far as they stand in relation to the conscious self whose reality, therefore, has to be presupposed by every intelligible entity. In this sense, consciousness is

¹ S. B. I. 4, 19. Compare Lord Haldane’s explanation of the sense in which the essence of the panorama of life centres in me as given in the *Reign of Relativity*, p. 169.

² Commentary on the *Kenopaniṣad*, 12.

³ S. B. I. 3, 22.

⁴ *Naiṣkarmyasyasiddhi*, IV, 3.

⁵ *Know Thyself*, p. 2.

the prior principle or the foundational fact which cannot be reduced to something other than itself except through a confusion of thought.

A word of explanation may be useful at this place in regard to the precise meaning in which consciousness is said to be the *prius* of reality. This doctrine is often interpreted on the idealistic line and supposed to deny the independent existence of the material world apart from consciousness. This, however, would be to raise a highly controversial and difficult problem, and if the priority of consciousness could not be established till the age-long controversy on the relation between the external world and the knowing mind had been settled once for all in favour of idealism, the advaita theory of consciousness would naturally stand on a shaky foundation. It is, therefore, important to dissociate the assertion of the priority of consciousness from the idealistic contention, and realise clearly that the doctrine of the priority of consciousness is equally compatible with the realistic belief in an independent world. Even if it be granted that knowledge does not create but only reveal a pre-existent reality, yet it would remain unchallengeable that the external reality could not be revealed to us apart from consciousness which is the principle of revelation. We may thus be in a position to appreciate Green's well-known remarks that even if it could be admitted that matter and motion had an existence in themselves, it would still not be by such matter and motion, but by the matter and motion which is known that the functions of the soul can be explained by the materialists.¹ The epistemological priority of the conscious self is thus reconcilable

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 13. Prof. R. B. Perry does not appear to us to have done full justice to the doctrine of the priority of consciousness when he associates it with idealism in his admirable book, *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, p. 105. To limit things to what can be experienced may be groundless and misleading (*Ibid.*, p. 316), the things may not require any home, yet the independent reality, call it a thing or a neutral entity, could not be revealed to us and so could not be used in explanation of anything if it had not been *known* at all.

with realism as well as with idealism.¹

The force and vitality of the advaita position will be better appreciated through a consideration of the anti-advaita theories which, as noted above, are classified by Saṅkara under four heads. The most audacious and apparently paradoxical of all these theories is that of the nihilists who reduce consciousness itself to pure nothing. Not content with the mentalism taught by the Buddhists of the Yogācāra school which reduced everything to momentary flashes of consciousness, the Mādhyamikās seek to cut the ground from under the feet of consciousness itself. This is evidently a very bold and dare-devil position which would easily outbrave a number of modern theories that deny the reality of consciousness. When W. James challenges the existence of consciousness and proves it to be nothing more than a loose name for the relations existing between certain events and the life of the organism,² he had at least to seek the support of the neutral events for destroying the wide-spread prejudice for consciousness. Consciousness, for him, is a particular relation into which the neutral events enter which, therefore, must be acknowledged to be real entities. The Mādhyamikās, on the other hand, go about their iconoclastic business all single-handed and unaided and will not rest till all philosophical superstitions are finally eradicated including the Vijñānavādi's superstition in favour of consciousness.³

¹ For a further exposition of the meaning of independence, I must refer the readers to my *Self, Thought and Reality*, pp. 115-120.

² *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Method*, I, 1904, since incorporated in *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, p. 17.

³ This distinction between the position of the subjective idealist and that of the nihilist is beautifully brought out in the *Sarva-Siddhānta-Saṅgraha*, IV, 6, a work attributed to Saṅkara. The only philosopher whose nihilistic perfection approaches the radical scepticism of the Indian Buddhists is F. H. Bradley who has so far been rightly characterised as "a genuine Mādhyamika" by Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky in his *Nirvāna*, p. 52. But the difference between these positions is at least as great as their similarity. Bradley, in spite of his condemnation of the self and self consciousness as mere appearances, is anxious to find a home for them in the life of the Absolute, though they have to undergo transformation and transmutation before they.

Saṅkara's attitude towards the theory of pure nothing or *śūnyavāda* is generally one of sheer contempt.¹ Yet, however, he has indirectly subjected it to a scathing criticism which, though directed against some of the assumptions of Indian nihilism, may very well be utilized in assessing the merit of the modern theories. One of his contentions against the position of universal nihilism is that a significant denial has invariably a reference to something real as its logical basis; e.g., when the illusory snake is negated as unreal this is made possible only on the basis of the perceived rope which is real.² Denial is significant only when something is left; if, on the other hand, "everything is denied, and no real entity is left, the negation becomes impossible and, consequently, that entity which we started to deny becomes real."³ Turning to the nihilist's denial of consciousness, it is remarked in another context that even if the position of the subjective idealist be left in the region of controversy and it is left undecided whether the object of knowledge is real or unreal, yet the reality of consciousness or knowledge has to be presupposed in either case.⁴ Even the nihilists, it is observed elsewhere, have to concede that non-existence or *abhāva* is knowable as well as permanent.⁵ And it would be absurd, therefore, to assert the knowability of negation while denying the reality of knowledge.⁶

can enter it. Moreover, the self, for him, though not a true form of experience, is the highest form of experience which we have (*Appearance and Reality*, p. 103). For Nāgārjuna, on the other hand, the self is as unreal as the son of a barren woman, and, consequently, has no place in Reality.

¹ Compare, for instance, his indignant remark that nihilism does not merit refutation as it is opposed to all types of proof—*S. B.*, II, 2, 31.

² *Kinciddhi paramārtham ālambya aparamārthab pratisidhyate*—*S. B.*, III, 2, 22.

³ *Ubbayathāpi ghatādivijñānasya bbāvabbutatvam abhyupagatamera*—Commentary on the *Brh. Up.*, IV, 3, 7.

⁴ *Commentary on the Praśnopaniṣad*, VI, 2.

⁵ This argument has found in Prof. Gentile one of its distinguished modern supporters: "It is clear that our very ignorance is not a fact unless

The modern theories of consciousness, as we have observed above, are less audacious and much less radical than the doctrine of the Indian nihilists. Even W. James who first doubted the reality of consciousness did not doubt the reality of the neutral events which, according to him, were the ultimate stuff of the real world. Similarly, the behaviouristic and neo-realistic doctrines of consciousness, far from committing themselves to the position of universal negation, undertake to reduce consciousness to a particular type of relation between the external stimulus and the organism. That is, instead of reducing consciousness to pure nothing, these modern theories reduce it to something other than consciousness, and so far they escape partly the edge of Sankara's criticism. But this partial escape brings out all the more prominently their weakness when judged in the light of the other part of the criticism. The most fundamental point in the contemporary attempts at denying the reality of consciousness lies in their unanimous rejection of the idealistic procedure of assigning a supreme place to consciousness and knowledge. Things, it is urged, are not only independent of knowledge, but knowledge is nothing more than a specific type of relation into which the things enter under certain conditions. These things are no doubt variously named in the various theories, but the central contention remains identical in all of them, namely, that there is no consciousness outside or apart from the things and their relations.¹

The internal paradox of the contemporary theories of consciousness may best be exposed by enquiring whether the elements, the neutral events or the bits of pure experience into which consciousness is reduced are themselves unknown or

at the same time it is a cognition...so that ignorance is a fact to which experience can appeal only because it is known."²—*The Mind as Pure Act*, p. 29.

¹ The only exception to this general tendency is furnished by Prof. S. Alexander who does not favour the total obliteration of the well-established distinction between the mental and the physical and insists on enjoyment and contemplation as being two fundamentally different types of knowledge none of which can be reduced to the other.

known. The former alternative would evidently render them undistinguishable from pure nothing or mere naught, and, as such, they must repel all predicates. And in that case they cannot be brought in for explaining anything. The only alternative, therefore, would be to admit that they are objects of knowledge and, as such, presuppose the reality of knowledge or consciousness. The scepticism of Descartes, as is well known, was arrested by the *cogito*, and it is this very fact which is denied here. When I doubt, I cannot doubt that I doubt, and as doubting is a mode of consciousness, it would be paradoxical to doubt, and more so to deny, the reality of consciousness. It is this fact which, as we have seen above, is emphasised by the epistemological priority of consciousness.¹ All objects, no matter what they are in detail, are, in so far as they are appealed to in explanation of something, known objects, and must have their *prīns* in "I think," "I know" or "I am conscious." They are, as put by Sureśvara with his characteristic terseness, *ātmapūrvaka*.

The reason, however, why such an apparently self-evident position threatens to degenerate into the relic of an exploded doctrine is that the majority of the modern theories of consciousness have unwittingly pledged themselves to an altogether unwarranted postulate. This postulate, to put it simply, is that consciousness is an object, and as such can be investigated and explained in the same way in which we explain all other objects of the world. There have been, no doubt, philosophers and psychologists who have protested against the practice of regarding the self as an object, but they have as a rule ended by depriving the self of all its meaning till it dwindles into a bare

¹ In this connection one may recall Professor G. F. Stout's important observation that whatever "it meant, intended, or thought of by the mind, inasmuch as it is meant, intended, or thought of, is the mind's object, whether it be fact or fiction, a mountain or a headache or a geometrical problem." *Manual of Psychology*, fourth edition, p. 8. And they are all objects because they are "presented to consciousness."—*Ibid.*, p. 99.

zero or, as it is disparagingly put by A. S. Pringle-Pattison, the dot upon the i.¹ Thus, Kant and Green, J. Ward and E. Caird have exhibited in their expositon of the self a clear drift to agnosticism. Whether or no some type of agnosticism be inseparable from a true theory of self, the indubitable reality of consciousness provides a brilliant instance of a reality which, though incapable of being known as an object, is yet a foundational fact. This leads us to what we have called before the second feature of the advaita theory of consciousness.

Consciousness, according to the advaita thinkers, being the ultimate principle of revelation cannot stand in need of a more ulterior principle for its own revelation. That which is the *prīnīs* of the knowable objects cannot itself be conceived as an object among other objects much as the light which reveals everything does not require a second light for its own manifestation.² Hence, consciousness is characterised as *svayam-prakāśa*. All things, it is observed,³ "can be classified as knowledge and knowable, and none except the Vaināśikas would admit a third knowledge which perceives the other knowledge." In fact the distinction between knowledge and the object of knowledge is inevitable in all cases, and "a hundred Vaināśikas cannot make knowledge itself knowable and this is as sure as they cannot revive a dead man." The knowledge of knowledge (*jñānasya jñeyatvam*) or awareness of awareness is, therefore, a psychological absurdity; and even when it is advanced as a logical theory, its untenability may be shown by the evident conflict it comes into with the admittedly valid principle that all objects are presented to consciousness. "In so far as consciousness is an object of consciousness," it has been rightly remarked by Prof. Gentile, "it is no longer consciousness. In

¹ *The Idea of God*, p. 199.

² *Samvedanasvarūpatvāt samvedanāntarāpekṣā ca na sambhavati yathā prakāśasya prakāśāntarāpekṣyā na sambhavah tadvat*—Commentary on the *Kenopaniṣad*, 12.

³ *Commentary on the Praśnopaniṣad*, VI, 2.

so far as the original apperception is an apperceived object, it is no longer apperception.”¹

A lot of mist that has gathered round the problem of self and that of consciousness would, therefore, disappear as soon as we abandon the logical superstition that all that is real must necessarily be a definite object of thought. And modern philosophy has already prepared the weapons with which one may kill the superstition. Berkeley’s distinction between ‘idea’ and ‘notion,’ Professor S. Alexander’s insistence that knowledge in the way of contemplation is altogether different from what we get in the way of enjoyment, James Ward’s contrast of the self from the presentations, and lastly G. Gentile’s position that the transcendental ego can never in any possible manner be objectified—these are some of the clear instances in which attempts have been made to widen the domain of reality beyond the world of knowable objects. All that is needed now for a just appreciation of the advaita position is to see clearly that it is consciousness and consciousness alone which, though not an object, is yet eminently real. And this would certainly disarm the critics who have been but too ready to identify such a position with that of the agnostic.

It ought to be clear from what has been so far said in elucidation of the advaita doctrine of consciousness that any analysis of consciousness which is undertaken without a distinct comprehension of the essential difference between consciousness on the one hand and the objects that are presented to it on the other is sure to be inadequate and uninstructive. That which reveals every object and illumines the entire world of things cannot itself be apprehended as a ‘this’ or a ‘that.’ The nearest analogy to it in the physical world is furnished by light which, therefore, has been very frequently appealed to in illustrating the peculiar character of consciousness by the Indian as well as

¹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

the western thinkers.¹ The light which manifests all material things cannot be appropriately said to be here and not there, it is not a particular thing existing by the side of other things; yet it is the condition of the revelation of the particular things.² Hence arise the difficulties which our psychologists experience in defining consciousness, the reality of which they find it necessary to emphasise; it is something, they say, that can be defined only in terms of itself. Hence, again, Yājñavalkya while expounding the nature of the Absolute to Uṣasta insisted on the impossibility of explaining it in the same way in which one shows the cow by holding her by the horn. The Self being the seer of sight, as he puts it, it is not capable of being apprehended as an object, as, e.g., we know the jug, etc.³

The initial assumption of the contemporary theories of consciousness is essentially identical with that of Uṣasta, namely, nothing that cannot be presented as a definite object is real. This very assumption was at the root of the imperfect analysis of experience offered by associationism and presentationism; particularly, it formed the corner-stone of Hume's analysis. And if Hume's search for the self ended in a total failure, the relational theories of consciousness of the present century cannot be expected to fare better while the initial assumption is allowed to stand unchallenged. When, that is, consciousness is defined as a species of function exercised by the organism,⁴ or as the cross-section of the universe determined by the specific res-

¹ Among the western philosophers, one may remember here Hamilton's comparison of consciousness with "an internal light" (*Metaphysics* I, p. 183) or E. Caird's comparison of the self with "the light which reveals both itself and the darkness" (*Hegel*, p. 147). The advaita literature abounds in this analogy and frequently refers to the self as the lamp-light or the light of the sun.

² Another favourite instance of the advaita thinkers is provided by space or *ākāśa* which is too ubiquitous to be determined as 'this' or 'that' or 'here' as distinct from 'there.'

³ *Commentary on the Brh. Up.*, III, 4, 1.

⁴ Prof. R. B. Perry, *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, p. 322.

ponse of the organism,¹ it is not so much as questioned whether consciousness to which are presented all things including the nervous system can itself be adequately conceived as a presentation or a particular type of thing among other things. The result is that the conscious self which in fact is the presupposition of the organism and its function is lost sight of amidst the congeries of objects; and then ingenious attempts are made to evolve it out of that very organism which when separated from a conscious self is devoid of all intelligible meaning. This procedure, in the words of Sankara, is as preposterous as to think that the colour is seen though there is no eye.² When the self is reduced to the complex of the body, etc., it is significantly remarked by Sankara, what is ignored is that "this complex, not being distinguishable from sounds and the rest in so far as it, like them, is of the nature of the knowable, it is not reasonable to attribute the nature of the knower to it."³ The colour cannot see the sound, but everything is knowable by the self.⁴

A curious meeting of extremes in this respect is illustrated by the accounts of self advanced by Bradley and Bosanquet. Out of the various meanings of self which Bradley examines in his monumental work, *Appearance and Reality*, there is hardly any reference to the doctrine according to which the self is consciousness or knowledge, though such a doctrine has been strongly suggested and ably explained by Lord Haldane.⁵

¹ Prof. E. B. Holt, *Concept of Consciousness*, p. 170.

² It is interesting to note that W. James whose analysis has profoundly influenced the realistic theories of our age has sometimes been more careful in this respect than his followers. When the psychologist undertakes an analysis of knowledge, he tells us, he has not only to see the elements and their relations involved in knowledge, but also the relation in which he himself stands to the total situation.—*Principles of Psychology*, I, p. 184. When a philosopher analyses or explains an object, it is as natural as it is disastrous to drop himself out of sight.

³ *Dehādisaṅghātasyāpi śabdādisvarūpatrāviśeṣat vijñeyatrāviśeṣat ca na yuktam vijñātrtvam.*

⁴ *Sarvameva tu ātmā vijñeyam*—Commentary on the *Kathopaniṣad*, IV, 3.

⁵ Compare, for instance, his article in the *Proceedings of the British Aca-*

And the reason seems to be that he starts with the same assumption which vitiated the analysis of Hume and the associationists in general.¹ Even if it be granted that the self is, "where not hiding itself in obscurity, a mere bundle of discrepancies,"² it may still be urged that the conscious self for which such a bundle exists cannot itself be reduced to a mere bundle of discrepancies. The fact is that all his difficulties about the self as aptly put by Dr. Haldar, "is due to his identification of it with its content."³ And once this identification is assumed to be true, it would be a comparatively easy task to condemn the self as a gross fiction, a mere monster, or a metaphysical chimera. This identification remains essentially unchallenged in Bosanquet's theory. It is true that he, in spite of his deep sympathy with Bradley's way of thinking, does not go the length of condemning the self as a mere appearance. On the contrary, he insists that the significance of mind should be accepted on its own merits and as *sui generis*. Yet, the description of the self as a world of experience working itself out towards harmony and completeness, or an active form of totality, or, again, as a living world of content, is strongly suggestive of a fruitless search of the conscious self in the wrong place.⁴

The conclusion that emerges out of these considerations is that no theory of consciousness is likely to survive the light of critical thought which leaves unexamined and unchallenged the identification of consciousness with what is presented to it.

demy, Vol. IX, and also *The Reign of Relativity*, pp. 150, 288.

¹ This is particularly evident from the way in which he asks "whether there is anything which may not become an object, and in that sense, a not-self"—*loc. cit.*, p. 77. Such remarks as that the main bulk of the elements on the side of the self and on the side of the not-self "is interchangeable" illustrate clearly Bradley's tendency to presentationism.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 104.

³ *Neo-Hegelianism*, p. 252.

⁴ Some of his pregnant remarks on the self are to be found in *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, pp. 193, 289, 335. Cp. also *The Nature of Mind*, p. 125f.

And it further follows that consciousness cannot be dismissed as a mere chimera simply on the ground that it cannot be known as an object. Thus, agnosticism and presentationism are the two extremes which should be carefully avoided by a true theory of consciousness. The self, which is essentially consciousness for the advaita thinkers, is, therefore, frequently described as different from the known and beyond the unknown, and this character, it is urged, does not belong to any other thing.¹ That is, as explained by Saṅkara, the self is different from the entire world of objects but that does not mean that it is unknown.²

The advaita distinction between the *svayamsiddha* and the *āgantuka* may also be used as an effective remedy against the false theories of consciousness. The conscious self, according to the thinkers of this school, is of the nature of an irrepressible reality which is necessarily presupposed by all proof and disproof, and which, therefore, falls beyond the region of logical justification or refutation. The self in this respect is different from the adventitious objects, such as ether. These are not beyond the range of proof (*pramāṇanirapekṣa*) or self-established (*svayamsiddha*); the self, on the other hand, is the basis (*āśraya*) of the process of proof, and, consequently, is established prior to the process of proof.³ You can refute what is adventitious, but not that which is your essential nature; much as the heat of a fire cannot be refuted by the fire itself.

Regarded in this light, the conscious self, according to the advaita theory, is an irrepressible reality, and what Bradley says with regard to the principle of contradiction may with equal justice be applied to it, namely, that its absolute reality is proved by the fact that, "either in endeavouring to deny it,

¹ *Kenopaniṣad*, I, 3.

² Ānandagiri illustrates the point by the help of light which, as we have seen above, is the most favourite analogy with the advaita thinkers.

³ *Ātmā tu pramāṇādīvyavahārāśrayatvāt prāge a pramāṇādīvyavahārāt siddhyati*.
—S. B., II, 3, 7.

or even in attempting to doubt it, we tacitly assume its validity."¹

From the dictum that there is no consciousness, which has so far been considered, to materialism there is but a short way. The latter does not deny the fact of consciousness, but, accepting it as an indubitable fact, materialism considers it to be a product of matter. But none the less materialism and the doctrine of no-consciousness meet on the confusion of consciousness with the content; the only difference is that the latter has the merit of drawing the inevitable consequences of the fundamental postulate which has always been at the basis of the former. And this postulate, it may be worthwhile to urge at the risk of repetition, lies in assuming that consciousness is one object among others. Once this assumption has been swallowed, the wood is sure to be lost in the trees, and, consequently, the relational theories of consciousness may very aptly be styled as the natural nemesis of objectifying the subject.

As the purport of the present essay is to provide an anti-toxin for counteracting the ruinous tendency of contemporary thought to what we have called above unhealthy scepticism in respect of the most ultimate principle of thought and existence, a full and detailed examination of the anti-advaita theories of consciousness, however interesting and profitable, is not called for in the present context. In fact, all these anti-advaita theories may be ultimately traced back to the root-fallacy which has inevitably led to the relational theory of the present century;

¹ *Appearance and Reality*, p. 120. This in fact contains the essence of Kant's transcendental deduction. The necessity and universality of the principles of the understanding are ultimately proved by the fact that they are the ground of the possibility of experience; that which makes experience possible is for that very reason necessary. In this sense the unity of consciousness, according to Kant, is a transcendental condition of all experience and all knowledge, it is the ultimate presupposition of knowledge. The advaita conception of *svayam-siddha* essentially conveys the same meaning; and if Bradley condemns the self as a mere appearance while accepting the absolute validity of the law of contradiction, that is probably due to his assumption that the self, if real, must be an objective content.

and the *reductio ad absurdum* which it illustrates in a very piquant and clear manner ought to force philosophical thought to retrace its steps and come to a clearer consciousness of the limits within which alone scepticism can exercise its healthy influence.

VEDANTA AS RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

*By D. B. SINHA, B.A. (HONS.), M.A.
Research Scholar in Philosophy (Session 1934-35)*

INTRODUCTION—VEDANTA AND ITS CRITICS

So much has been written of late on the philosophy of Vedānta both by Indian and European scholars, (especially by Indian scholars), that if we were to infer by the amount of the ink spent in writing out these works—one can safely conclude that Vedānta is occupying the serious attention of scholars and it is no wonder if it is so; for the sublime philosophy of Vedānta has in itself the possibilities, perhaps illimitable, that may turn out to be the actualities of the morrow. It is replete with ideas, which though ancient in origin are yet modern in meaning to satisfy the moving spirit of the time. It would be no exaggeration to say that the philosophy of the Vedānta is not of an age but of all time. It stands Protean-like before its worshippers to give them what they want. Like the oracle at Delphi it speaks not but beckons only by a sign.

The Sutras in which the grand edifice of Vedānta is built up are in the form of short pithy aphorisms that are capable of true apprehension by those alone who have made a preparation for the understanding of them. The very first Sutra thus defines the character of one who is a fit person to understand the mysteries of the Vedānta.

Vedānta is thus not a mere speculative system as is often understood; or rather misunderstood. It is not the luxury of an arm-chair philosopher. “It is” as Sir Mahendra Nath Sircar says “the highest art of life, the art of realising transcendent bliss.”

It is particularly this aspect of Vedānta that is proposed

to be discussed in the following pages. In doing so the writer is conscious of the magnitude of the task as also his limitations and in fact in face of a welter of opinions to the contrary, it is by no means an easy task to establish the thesis set forth.

Unfortunately, there is a considerable misconception as to the true character of Vedānta—whether as philosophy or as religion. The apparently inconsistent utterances in the Upanisads, the difficulty of understanding the terminology of the ancient writers and of following with patience the dialectics used by them, the lack of sympathetic appreciation of its truths have all combined to make Vedānta as unattractive as it is difficult.

Nor is this all, there is almost an organic theological bias which the European writers on philosophy and religion evince while dealing with the philosophy of Vedānta.

There have however appeared on the stage giants who have stood abreast of times and declared at the top of their voices the spiritual satisfaction that Vedānta has afforded them. Schopenhauer says:—

“From every sentence (of the Upanisads of Vedānta) deep original and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit..... In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanisads (the Vedānta). It has been the solace of my life—it will be the solace of my death. They are products of the highest wisdom.... It is destined sooner or later to become the faith of the people.” “If I were asked” says Prof. Maxmuller “under what sky the human mind has mostly developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solution of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant.—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe; we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thought

of the Greeks and Romans, and of one Semetic race the Jewish, may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human—a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India."

It is the purpose of this essay to deal in outline with some of the principal objections that have been raised against the Vedānta and to set forth in clear and unambiguous terms the real import of its conclusions. It is by no means proposed to offer a defence that certainly implies preconceived bias in favour of any theory or dogma.

The aim of the present endeavour is to assess as dispassionately as possible the place of Vedānta as a religion. In fact very few writers on Vedānta have so far attempted to throw light on this particular aspect of Vedānta—and the few attempts that have been made are far from satisfactory. Even a sympathetic critic like *urquhart* concludes that "Vedāntism in relation to those aspects (the religious and the ethical) we have just been considering does not seem to satisfy those of its adherents who are most affected by modern influences."

The reason of this attitude is not far to seek. In their enthusiasm to read Vedānta in Modern thought and vice versa some writers have gone to the extreme of mis-interpreting Vedānta and its import. Others find nothing but obscurantism in it. Greatest care ought therefore to be taken to read the statements in their original context and the meaning of the terms and concepts employed should also be taken in their original sense. When we speak of the Religion of Vedānta for example—we must qualify our statement by explaining what is really meant by Religion in Vedānta.

Religion in Vedānta it must be gain-said at the very outset is not what we generally and popularly understand by Religion—though it contains all the fundamentals of Religion as such.

It will be the business of the sequel to set forth in clear terms what is meant by Religion in Vedānta which though fundamentally identical with what is generally meant by Religion is certainly different from the popular conception of it. The terms and concepts used divorced of their original settings, are sure to make confusion worse confounded. An enquirer after the truths of Vedānta must be careful in keeping this point in view.

The Philosophy of Vedānta or Religion as herein suggested (for in India Philosophy and Religion are not two things but one), presupposes a dedicated life. Those therefore who are anxious to unravel the mysteries of this sublime philosophy must approach it in a religious spirit.

The list of qualifications that Saṅkara sets forth for a student of philosophy amply show that Philosophy for him is not an intellectual pursuit but a dedicated life. The first "discrimination between things eternal and non-eternal" demands of the student the power of thought, which helps him to distinguish between the unchanging reality and the changing world.

Renunciation of the enjoyment of the reward here and in the other world is the second requisite. In the empirical world and man's temporal life within it there is little to satisfy the aspirations of the spirit. The seeker after truth must refuse to abase himself before things as they are and develop an austere detachment characteristic of a superior mind. Moral preparation is insisted on as the third requirement and lastly longing for liberation (*mumuksutvam* is mentioned). "Saṅkara presents to us" in the words of Prof. Radhakrishnan "the true ideal of philosophy—which is not so much knowledge as wisdom, not so much logical learning as spiritual freedom." And we may add, this is the ideal that is truly religious in character.

Philosophy thus for Saṅkara is more essentially Religion—not "an unearthly ballet of bloodless categories" but a manifestation of what is highest and most abiding. Raised above

the hopes and fears of man's ephemeral existence, there shoots forth a vision of the Almighty that is simply unique in its splendour and majesty. The released soul sees all around and within nothing else but Brahman, and declares in a mood of ecstasy that is fullness of bliss 'aham Brahma asmi.'

He has broken the veil of Māyā and stands face to face with the light eternal nay he is the Light itself. In his search for Unity the Vedāntin has succeeded in finding one ultimate Reality as the basis of our existence in which we find "at once an adequate object of affection and a sufficient aim for our practical endeavours."

The Indian Vedānta in the words of Kirtikar has laid such a scheme for practical conduct, founded on this necessary and fundamental truth, that it satisfies the social, moral and spiritual needs of men of every grade. While recognising the existence of only one Reality and showing man's relation to that Reality, it prescribes his duties to himself, to his kith and kin, to his own community, to the whole of humanity, nay to the entire animal, vegetable and mineral Kingdoms—thus insisting upon his living a larger and larger self, to the utter extinction, eventually, of his own individual lower self, and thus ultimately seeking union with that one Reality. In this process of gradual evolution and development, it holds out a hope of eternal beatitude and peace to the pure and righteous and promises Salvation even to the sinful after their period of probation is over.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

The problem of Religion is as old as history and if one were to review the numerous ways in which religion has presented itself to mankind one could easily see that Religion occupies a central position in their thought. In fact "It is a phenomenon" as Prof. Hoernle points out "that is universal in the human race at every stage of its civilization and in every period

of its history." Historically reviewing we can witness a steady growth from a crude animistic belief to a healthy religious consciousness of a loving God. Psychologically considered we find also a steady advance. The baser emotions of fear and awe that constituted the essence of religion in its early stages have given place to nobler emotions of love and devotion and superstition has been replaced by understanding and will and faith in a kind and wise God. It is not our purpose here to trace a historical or psychological development of religion. Suffice it to say that religion has occupied the most important rôle in the dialectic of human understanding. In spite of this it is really a sad affair that there is hardly any unanimity of opinion as to what Religion is or what constitutes the essence of Religion. The question is raised at the very outset if a belief in God or Gods or even in the supernatural is necessary for a conception of Religion. Different answers are available. There are those who believe that the problem which lies at the heart of Religion is obviously the problem of God; others would rank a belief in God or Gods as superstition. We cannot however forget that a belief in the spiritual and the non-material does and ought to, form an element in religion. It is true, attempts have been made to dispense with this requisite altogether, but the attempts have not been very successful. In the nineteenth century we find a revolt against religion as such and it is dismissed as rank superstition. They used to talk of the regency of God during the long minority of humanity "The Heavens" they said "declare the glory not of God but of Kepler and Newton." The positivists divided the progressive human thought into three stages. In its early infancy according to them it was theological and develops into the metaphysical and the crown of it all is the positive aspect of human thought—the gospel of progress.

The Positivists had among them sturdy reformers whose hearts were brimming with love for humanity. The suffering of mankind was the problem of the greatest concern to them and

to find the best possible comforts for the suffering humanity was the essence of their doctrines and the *sui quo non* of their beliefs. That the positivists themselves should have founded a church of the "religion of humanity," is no doubt a tribute to the strength of the demand for religion in human nature. And Hoffding rightly said that "Proper religion begins where Comte's religion ends." And Tennyson was right when he said "If Comte had followed out his correlation of nature and man to serious conclusion, he would have found the true medium of 'Humanity's life in God' that power which alone is great 'God and the Universe'." Kant's fine retort in this connection is historic. He said "No Newton will ever rise to explain a blade of grass." A similar attempt is being made at the present day by the Meleorists who seek to establish a Morality on the canons of Commonsense and have for their ideal the largest common good. But to build a morality and a religion on the shifting sands of utilitarianism however noble its principles might be from the point of view of the comforts and pleasure they promise to humanity are bound to totter down. The result is that we find it a common phenomenon among writers on philosophy, ethics, and religion to huddle one into the other and instead of clearing the issues they end by confusing them. We find for example religion identified with ethics or with sociology and so on.

We can admit that Religion on account of its universality does play a part in all spheres of human life. In principle religion does involve the whole man; at its best it is itself a synthesis, a unification, a harmonious stabilization of all sides of his nature; nevertheless we can never lose sight of the fact that the phenomenon of religion is also unique in character. Before we analyse the religious life and point out the constituents of religious experience, we can consider certain features as normal predicates of the religious life generally if we characterize widely rather than particularly. Three phases or aspects are

perennial within it—the altruistic, the ascetic and the mystic. In various stages of its history we may see that religion has had one or other of these aspects predominant. If we look at the various historical religions or even the early forms of the pre-historic religions we will see that they are dominated by one or the other of these characteristics. It is true sometimes we find all the three aspects combined and blended in a single religion or we may find a gradual development from one aspect to the other.

Generally speaking the current of religious thought of the human race has moved on from altruism to asceticism and finally to mysticism. It is indeed true that even in the altruistic era as we may call it, we find here and there a few exceptions which really go to prove the general rule. One thing however is evident that the religious consciousness in any of its three aspects involves a spiritual order superimposed as it were upon the natural. In fact the essence of religious consciousness is a dissatisfaction with the existing scheme of things and a burning desire to break the shackles of space and time. It implies a belief in an ideal world that promises spiritual satisfaction to the restless spirit. The religious attitude is an attitude of rebellion with the natural and the physical. It is deeply rooted in a faith that there is an objective or abiding reality that is beyond. The realization of the Promised Land is the hope of Religion and to make it possible is the work of religious life. It may be however that this faith—the will to believe carries its own justification with it. When the will to serve embodies itself in actual service, the activity often gives us the guarantee of the belief that we were called to serve.

Those who will to seek the morally highest realize the justification of the moral imperative in a manner which ethical theory cannot afford. Those who will to serve their fellow-men realize in such service why it is demanded of them after

a fashion that is more convincing than sociology. It is in this way alone that we can explain why the religious faith of mankind has persisted. The greatest justification of Religion is a religious life. "To understand religion" says Prof. C. J. Webb "is to live it... In religion we live by a conviction which the very habit of living by it reinforces and sustains." The religious consciousness is the response of the human mind to the sum total of reality. Unless faith brought its justification to the faithful, religion would have perished as magic has perished among the cultured races. Neither the rational nor the pragmatic criterion after all has the last word in religion. Through all its vastly differing expressions, from the lowest to the highest, there is a psychological unity in the religious consciousness. This psychological unity is a happy blending of thought, feeling and will. If we analyse the religious attitude we will find that all the three are present, yet not one of them can furnish an absolute criterion.

There have not been thinkers lacking however who would like to make the one or the other of these the absolute standard of religious life. There are a class of rationalists who would dismiss the element of feeling and will as superfluous and knowledge alone gives to them the ideal of religious life. For them religion is nothing more than a science of reasoned belief. The religious experience of the Saintliest have no meaning for them if they fail to satisfy the narrow canons of their reasoning. But they seem to forget that all their reasoning presupposes a belief, a consciousness of something that is beyond—something other than their own finite selves that is given to them by a feeling of the Infinite—the reality that is beyond and it also involves a will to believe the communication of the feeling. There are others who make the element of will the only criterion of religious consciousness. For Schopenhaur for example it is the will to believe that sustains and reinforces the religious consciousness. Lastly there are those who maintain

that the Infinite cannot be known for ‘to know is to condition and the conditioned is finite. . . .neither human logic nor human ethics are applicable to the Divine Being.’ We find men like Mansel* Butler, Spencer, Pascal, Newman, Kido, Balfour, Ritschl and in our own day Rudolf Otto who assert that the province of religion is the region of immediate feeling—a direct awareness. Even the modern psychologists would attribute religious consciousness to a kind of particular feeling. The rationalist on the other hand points out that “within the sphere of feeling the raptures of the sensualist and the devout devotion of the Saint are precisely on a level. Natures of a soft, pliant, susceptible texture are ready to respond to every breadth that sweeps the chords of feelings; they are elated and depressed, attracted or repelled, roused into superstitious raptures or plunged into despondency and despair on occasions when colder and deeper natures remain unmoved.” Religion they say must closely be connected with feeling, but its most essential element is knowledge.

For those who think that feeling is the essence of religious life the speculative method is the negative method which instead of building the religious spirit demolishes and destroys it. Religion says Otto is neither morals nor mere intellectual belief, but a thing by itself in the sense that what constitutes it is a particular sort of element or “moments” of feeling. It is not a mere subjective feeling; it is a feeling called forth by and apprehends, an enigmatic and overwhelming Presence belonging to another world than this—a peculiar awareness of the Divine—it comes with experience but not out of it; sense impressions are its occasions but not its sources. Morals and rationalizing do not between them cover the whole field of religion. “The presence of the Holy” says Otto “is to be detected by the special faculty of “divination”. Before the Holy we are both awed and exalted, abased and yet allured, con-

*Bampton Lectures—“Limits of Religious Thought.”

vinced of our worthlessness, yet through contact and communion filled with a sense of worthiness." "By each new obeisance of spirit I mount to His feet." This faculty "divination" is in fact no new theological discovery. Schleiermacher in his "Discourses upon Religion" Jacob Friedrich Fries in his doctrine of 'Ahnung' ('inkling' surmise, presage) and De Wette, Fries, Pupil have all in effect made use of it, the last named with special reference to the divination of the Divine in history under the name "Surmise of the divine government of the world." This is what Samkara calls 'Sarvātma bhāva.' It is this faculty of divination which is the essential precondition of liberation "Sarvātma-bhāva-mokṣa."

Analysing the religious consciousness a little further we find apart from the faith and hope in an ideal world superimposed upon the natural and the physical three important psychological phases which are present in all higher forms of religion.

1. A feeling of dependence what Otto calls 'creative consciousness' "I am not thou art all" a feeling of humility cf. the parable of Indra and the damsel in the *Kena Upanisad*.

2. A feeling of mystery. The Divine is seen as the 'ineffable something' before which the human mind is bewildered and bedazzled and yet drawn towards Him. This is what Otto calls the 'religious dread.'

3. And then there is a feeling of urgency. The yearning soul is anxious for complete absorption in the Divine. In spite of the discords and disharmonies of the world the devoted spirit hears "an onward advancing melody of the choir invisible" (Lotze).

We have seen what an important part does the element of feeling play in religious consciousness and Bradley was probably right when he said "My way of contact with Reality is through a limited aperture. For I cannot get at it directly except through the felt this." ('Appearance' p. 26). And again. "The this is real, in a sense in which nothing else is real".

(‘Appearance’ p. 225).

“The Highest” said Goethe “cannot be spoken,” but only felt. In this immediate awareness of the divine according to Goethe there is calm and peace “when I have Thee I ask no questions of earth and Heaven.”

It is indeed true that above and beyond our rational being is hidden the ultimate and highest part of our nature, which can find no satisfaction in allaying the needs of the sensuous, psychical, or intellectual impulses and cravings. The mystics call it the basis and the ground of the soul.

Yet we must always remember that Religious consciousness is not the negation of rational thought in religion but its sublimation. It only seeks to combat excessive intellectualism. It reminds us that “There are reasons of the heart which the reason knows not.” Reality does not exhaust itself in the dialectic of human thought. Reason finds its ideal and true goal in an immediate feeling—the felt this. So does rational religion find culmination in the mystical.

Bosenquet ends his chapter on “The Religious Consciousness” with the words “Religion establishes the Infinite Spirit because it is continuous with and present in the finite in love and in the will for perfection—it is an experience of God not a proof of Him” (for no proof is possible or even necessary).

By “God” he means “Reality conceived as a whole, conceived as perfect; and as transcending and transforming within itself the opposition of good and evil. In this perfection man participates and religion is his sense of participation, of his fragmentariness made whole, of the evil in him overcome, of his life for all its failures and blemishes, filled with value.”

It has been shown in the preceding pages some of the important elements in religious consciousness. Attempt has been made to unravel the religious life. Religious experience however is so varied from nation to nation and even from individual to individual that to attempt at a general statement

of the constituents of religious experience would be a hopeless task. In spite of this variety and diversity in religious experience it can be safely asserted that the essentials pointed out above would invariably be present in all higher forms of religious consciousness.

But religion is in its popular sense and as it is probably lived by the general run of mankind is hardly worth the name. It is naive subservience to some beliefs that are encrusted with sanctity by long association that they are taken for something essential to religion. These dogmas of religion which were adumbrated by the Spirits of Sanitliest in their own time are actually working as fetters to the restless spirit which wants to break all barriers, social, political, intellectual or theological. If religion has been responsible for a great deal of social as well as individual good, it is also capable of the greatest harm if it is to be closed within the limits of theology or doctrinism. Grotesque, obscene, and dark superstitions within the separate religions take greater toll and are even worse hindrance to progress and a healthy and happy life than no religion and no belief.

Mr. J. S. Huxley in his book entitled "Religion without Revelation" makes a strong plea for a reorientation of our attitude towards religion and he is probably right in asserting that "Religion would still be religion without retaining one single item of Christian creed." Such a frank statement might shock the traditionally religious-minded, but is nevertheless a very honest and frank judgment.

"I am sure" he says "that the single step at present needed is for those who combine respect for science and intellectual truth with love of what is best in the spirit of religion to leave the particulars on one side and return to the basis of the general and the fundamental, My personal feeling is strong that the next step to take is to try to see the problem of religion and religious feelings stripped of all trappings, theological, cre-

dal or ecclesiastical."

If religion is to come to the forefront of civilisation, it must first strip itself naked and become as a child again, new, with new life before it to live.

In this view, the next great step which religious thought must take according to Prof. Huxley is the liberation of the idea of God from the shackles of personality, which have been riveted on it by man's fear, ignorance, servility and self-conceit. Instead of making themselves in the image of God they have in the words of Voltaire made God in their own image.

The greatest difficulty of Theism lies in the fact that on the one hand we assert that all these attributes (of Goodness, Benevolence etc.) exist in God in a perfection utterly beyond anything we know in man—yet the more we stress this transcendental perfection, the more do our norms threaten to become meaningless. On the other hand, the more vividly concrete we seek to make their meaning the more we shrink God to the dimensions of the human pattern with which we are familiar.

(Hoernle).

Bradley expressed the same difficulty when he said "If you identify the Absolute with God, that is not the God of religion. If you again separate them, God becomes a finite factor in the whole. And the attempt of religion is to break down this relation, a relation which none the less, it essentially presupposes. Hence short of the Absolute God cannot rest, and having reached the goal He is lost and religion with him." I do not however believe that personality (which certainly implies limitations) is essential to religion.

There is a further difficulty of reconciling evil, sin and suffering with the existence of a personal all-good and omnipotent being who guides the destinies of the universe. This has always been a stumbling block to belief and Plato was even prepared to deny that God is the creator of all things. The existence of evil is certainly incompatible with the perfection

of the universe, be that perfection predicated in the name of the God of religion or absolute of philosophy. The result is either to justify the ways of God to man and say "Could we but see the whole and understand it, it would all seem at once and entirely good," and see like the philosopher in Shakespeare's 'As you like it' a venomous toad bearing a jewel in its crown. But in spite of Edward Caird's disclaimer, it is nothing more than the optimism of the lucky man for whom life has been one long Lord Mayor's day.

There are others who do not try to make the worst appear the better reason but are ready to admit that the sin, evil and suffering are real positive facts of life. They however in their attempt to build a theocracy assert that this world is above all else a school for character. Misfortune and pain are divinely appointed trials from which, as gold purged from base metal by aqua regia, man's noble qualities may emerge purified and unalloyed.

But we cannot forget what the Pessimists so vehemently urge that there is also unnecessary suffering in a world like this, where storms devastate and plagues strike; where ignorance consigns the noblest to exile, to torture and to death, where vice lapped up in luxury grinds down the poor and from its own crimes argues that there can be no God. 'As a creator of the world' said Schopenhaur 'God is the author of possibilities too not merely of the world and He ought to have devised this in such a way as to admit of a better world.'

It is argued by the Theists that a world in which the possibility of wrong doing was prevented by the exclusions of the temptations that were really such could, neither be nor become a moral world at all. "The world with its faults is better" said Hellen "than a kingdom of angels without wills at all." Huxley's retort is historic in this connection. "Call it a non-moral world, then, if you choose." Said Huxley "At all events it would be a better world than this, which you presumably call moral."

"The only freedom I care about is the freedom to do right, the freedom to do wrong I am ready to part with on the cheapest terms" cf. (collected Essays) chap. 'Methods and Result,' p. 192.

Both the optimists and the pessimists commit the fundamental fallacy of assuming a hedonistic criterion. This is what in the words of Sidgwick may be stated 'the fundamental paradox of hedonism.' The impulse towards pleasure if too predominant defeats its own purpose.

The enquirer after the real truths of religion has to steer his way cautiously between both these extremes. All thoughtful men have been driven to call life an enigma. It is Māyā that enchant^s and bewilders us at the same time. We are impressed by the transitoriness of human life in the succession of generations, yet we are also impressed in that life with something which is untouched by time or death. In moments of thoughtful and deep reflection upon the frailties of human life, we are touched and awed by something that is abiding and eternal and in a mood of religious devotion we bow our heads in all humility to the Altar of the Unknown God. Theology cannot tell us what is the nature of that unknown God nor can philosophy. It is in the deep moments of religious life that the secrets of religion are to be unravelled and we must state once for all that Religion is far from mere theorising a statement of dogmas and beliefs. We are thus driven to conclude that the conception of a personal God is not the son *qua non* of religious belief as it is often understood and history furnishes us with examples of great Religions without a belief in a personal God. Buddhism is one and Brahmanism or Vedānta is another.

To say that a belief in an impersonal God does not ensure moral progress is to say against history. It was Edward Caird who said "Not even in the New Testament do we find the royal law, not to return evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good more explicitly announced than in the ethical writings of the Buddhists."

In the doctrine of the unity of all being the Vedānta teaches the highest ideals of morality or religion which it would be our task to discuss in the sequel.

We thus see that the idea of a personal God is an idol in the words of Bacon which must be got rid of if we are to see clearly the essence of religion.

Remove personality, stick to the principle of giving agnosticism its due and the logical and moral anguish which demands these justifications vanishes. Only the facts remain. That the universe cannot be comprehended is a ground for humility; that it is mysterious an occasion for awe; that pain and misfortune can often, perhaps always be turned to good is one of the great lessons which all should learn. (Huxley, J. S.).

What religion ought to be from the point of view of its universality has in a way been indicated in the preceding pages; but not explicitly stated and in fact it is a difficult task to give a constructive theory of a universal religion in the short span of these few pages. What we have attempted to show is that above all religion is essentially an attitude of mind, an attitude which is the result of a deep and contemplative reflection on the problems of the world and history. It was Mazzini who said Italy is my religion and who really felt more deeply for the regeneration of Italy than Mazzini himself?

The great need of the hour is and currents are also flowing in the same direction of a happy union of the social and the individualistic aspects of the religious life—a happy marriage of humanism and mysticism. The religious and philosophic attitude of Samkara (for him Religion and Philosophy are not two things but one) might give us a clue to the solution of this great problem. The whole world is covered up with a veil a Māyā that envelops the universe from all sides. Yet it is a Māyā that is veritably real so long as we are in it. It is real (relatively though) for it is an appearance of Reality and as such deserves our full attention and not a naive apathy characteris-

tic of a lazy mind. But when the Māyā is removed and the enquirer after truth finds himself face to face with the vision of the Real; for him life with all its multifarious colours becomes meaningless, as good as nothing. The whole life of man according to such a viewpoint passes through three stages—the altruistic, the ascetic and the mystic. In the first stage a man is attracted by the colourful world and plays his part to the best of his capacities for his own benefit as well as for the benefit of his kith and kin and the whole of mankind with a belief that service to man is service to God. In the second stage he is impressed by the transitoriness and frailty of human life and shuns and abhors the things of the world. He lives in the solitariness of his own individual self. In the third stage the initiated and the truly devoted rise to the vision of the Absolute and realize what is best and highest—a unity with Brahman and in moments of ecstatic bliss declare एकमेवाहितीर्थं त्रहा त्रहासत्यं जगत् मिथ्या “He alone who is pure by wisdom can see in meditation the one without parts” (Katha) ‘Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see Light.’

CHAPTER III. THE BRAHMA SUTRAS

Before we proceed to examine in detail the Brahma Sutras of Badrayana and find out the religious aspect indicated therein, it would be worthwhile to make an unequivocal assertion about the relation of philosophy and religion in India. It is of the utmost importance to note that unlike the West, philosophy and religion in the East and specially in India are not two things but one. Philosophy is not mere theorising, mere speculation on the ultimate problems of the world. Knowledge is not mere speculative thought but self-realization. Philosophy or philosophizing presupposes a dedicated life. The uninitiated cannot discover the truths of Philosophy. We cannot say of a philosopher in India as it was said of Bacon that ‘He was the wisest, the brightest and the meanest of mankind.’ In

India knowledge and virtue are correlative; a great thinker is a great seer as well. It is true we are often confronted with the most acute logicians whose reasonings seem to us like so many useless and superficial play of words. Even the great commentators on the Vedānta Sutras, Saṅkara, Ramanuja, Nimbarka, Vallabha and Mādhaba show a sort of predisposition towards their own doctrines and each tries to force his opinion into the sutras as we shall see in the succeeding pages. Yet one thing that strikes even a casual observer is the one undisputed fact that in spite of their differences as to the interpretation of the sutras, all point to the same goal, the realization of final and eternal bliss and live in their own lives what they seek to preach to others. Their lives are the glowing examples of religious devotion and virtue.

We will now deal with the sutras themselves and see how each commentator explains the same sutra in his own peculiar way.

General outline.

There were many attempts made to evolve a system from the complex and varied passages of the Upanisads, and the one attempt which has come down to us is embodied in what is known as the Brahmasutras traditionally attributed to Bādrayana or Vyāsa, believed to be the same as the author of the Mahabharata. Thus in addition to the Upanisads the Brahma-sutras form the second great authority for the Vedānta schools. These sutras are very brief notes rather than sentences consisting of as few words as possible, many words having to be supplied from the context; there is thus the greatest scope for the ingenuity of the commentator, who can accordingly find in them whatever ideas he wants them to convey. Again it is very difficult to decide which sutras contain the purvapakṣa or the *prima facie* view, and which the siddhānta or the author's view. The necessity to supply words to complete the meaning

of the sutra is another prolific source of variety of interpretations.

All the five systems of Vedānta now existing and which seek to base their doctrines on Bādrayana's sutras, we may believe, must have existed long before the sutras of Badrāyana attained to prominence, and when there arose great teachers like Saṅkara, Ramanuja, Niimbarka, Vallabha and Mādhava, they thought it their first duty to write a commentary or bhasya on these sutras, for the propagation of their systems.

In doing this they naturally proceeded to interpret the sutras in the light of their own doctrines which were already present before them in a cut and dried form. Their only task was to show that their doctrines had the authority of the sutras. Naturally they never cared to know what was the real and natural meaning of the sutras.

Before proceeding to examine the sutras critically without following the interpretations given by the commentators it might be of use to answer one question. Which of the five schools of Vedānta is the most elevated and conducive to the satisfaction of human impulse for the quest of truth? It is really difficult to answer such a question for every system has its merits and demerits. But, if philosophy mainly concerns itself with finding unity in plurality, nothing may be higher than the absolute monism of Saṅkara; and nowhere can we see the human understanding reaching such heights of elevated thought. From the point of literary criticism, our question would be which of these five commentators has faithfully represented the natural and straightforward meaning of the original? We would therefore analyse the sutras and see for ourselves the different interpretations given to them by different commentators.

ANALYSIS
Brahma Sutras

Samanvayadhyāya (four padas)	Avirodhadhyāya (four padas)	Sadhanadhyāya (four padas)	Phaladhyāya (four padas)
*Adhikaranas or topics Sutras	*	*	*

ADHYAYA I

Pada I.

The first four adhikaranas deal with the enquiry into Brahman. The first sutra opens with the words 'atha' i.e. then therefore; it shows a reference to something that has been said before but which not being explicit, different commentators have tried different contexts. Ramanuja, and Nimbarka think that it refers to the knowledge of Karman and its fruits which according to them is the pre-requisite of enquiry into the nature of Brahman. Samkara seeks to show that it only refers to the four necessary pre-conditions for knowing the nature of Brahman which he thinks are : discrimination things between eternal and non-eternal, aversion to sense-objects, possession of self-restraint and the desire for emancipation. Vallabha does not prefer to give any context, but thinks that it signifies only the beginning of a new topic. Mādhava also does not attach any importance to it. It however appears that all agree in maintaining that Karman and its fruits are known to be perishable and limited and that it is the knowledge of Brahman alone which can lead to eternal bliss.

The second sutra defines Brahman as the one from whom spring the origination etc. of this world. (Samkara's position contradicted).

The third sutra says that scripture alone is the means of the knowledge of Brahman—a fundamental point common

to all systems of Vedānta. The fourth shows that Brahman is the purport of the scriptures.

The *fifth* adhikarana (sutras 5-11) asserts that the non-intelligent Pradhana of the Sāṃkhyas cannot be the cause of the world, because it is not supported by the *sruti* since 'seeing' or 'willing' which is an attribute of something intelligent, is predicated of Brahman. Ramanuja employs this adhikarana to refute the 'nir-guna Brahma' doctrine of Saṃkara. Mādhaba also seeks to prove on its basis that Brahman is not inexpressible as also Vallabha who brings it as a proof against the doctrine that Brahman is '*Vyavahārātīta*'.

Having established that Brahman is the cause of the origination and destruction of the universe and that it is intelligent the Sutrakār proceeds to examine certain passages of the Upanisads and demonstrating that certain words in them refer to nothing but Brahman. Saṃkara here remarks that the question before the Sutrakāra is whether the higher or the lower Brahman is referred to in this connection. But this assumption is without foundation and furnishes another example of the commentators' attempt to read his own ideas in the sutras.

Adhikarana *six* (sutras 12-19) shows that the word Ānandamaya referred in the Taittiriya Upanisad signifies the highest Brahman and not the Jīva. Saṃkara however thinks that the word refers not to the Highest Self which would rather be Ānanda than Ānanda-Māyā which is savisesa-Brahman or Brahman with Māyā. This contention of Saṃkara according to Dr. Ghate does not hold water for in the succeeding sutras the distinction is drawn between Brahman and Jīva, so that it is quite natural to suppose that in the preceding sutras the word Ānanda-Māyā signifies Brahman, which is further distinguished from the Jīva in the succeeding sutras. Saṃkara also admits that sutras 16, 17, 19 denote the difference between Brahman and Jīva, but adds that this difference referred to shows that it is due to Māyā; really speaking there is no difference.

Adhikarana *seven* (sutras 20, 21) demonstrates that the golden person seen within the sun and the person seen within the eye, mentioned in Chandogya Upanisad refer to the Supreme Brahman.

Adhikarana *eight* states that the ether mentioned in Chand. Up. I, 9 is not the elemental ether, but the highest Brahman.

Adhikarana *nine* (sutra 23) shows that Prāna mentioned in Chand. Up. I, II, 5 denotes the highest Brahman.

Adhikarana *Ten* (sutras 24-27) teaches that the light spoken of in Chand. Up. III, 13, 7 is not the ordinary physical light, but the highest Brahman.

Adhikarana *eleven* (sutras 28-31) asserts that the Prāna mentioned in Kaus. Up. III, 2 is Brahman.

Pada II.

The second pada deals with passages where Brahman is not clearly indicated as in the passages quoted above (Adhikarana *one*). The Manomayah whose body is breath (pranasavirah) mentioned in Chand. Up. III, 4, 1 or 2 is Brahman, but Mādhaba does not accept it. This adhikarana contains many sutras which signify a difference between Brahman and Jīva; but Sāmkara explains them all with reference to his doctrine of Māyā. Dr. Ghate however inclines to the view that the difference mentioned is a real one and that it is so intended to mean by the sutrakara.

The *second* adhikarana (sutras 9-10) teaches that the being to whom Brahmans and Kṣatriyas are but food, referred to in Katha. Up. I, 2, 24 is the Highest Self.

Adhikarana *three* (sutras 11-12) establishes that the two 'entered into the cave' (Katha. Up. I, 3, 1) are Brahman and Jīva (compare Plato's parable of the Cave).

Sutras 11-12 also refer to the difference between Jīva and Brahman (in this section, the Jīva and Parmātman are spoken of everywhere as the meditator and the object of meditation,

as the attainer and the object to be attained).

Adhikarana *four* asserts that the person within the cyc mentioned in Chand. Up. IV, 15, 1 is Brahman.

Adhikarana *five* says that the ruler within (antaryāmin) mentioned in Br̥ihadāraṇyaka Up. III, 7, 3 is Brahman.

Adhikarana *six* shows that the being described as possessing invisibility etc. in Mund. Up. I, 1, 5, 6 is Brahman.

Both these adhikaranas seek to prove that words refer do not signify the pradhāna of Sāmkhya or Jīva, but refer only to the Highest Brahman. It is worthy of note here that they emphasize the difference between Jīva and Brahman which Sāmkara seeks to explain away as due to Nescience.

Adhikarana *seven* says that the ‘ātma vaisvanarah’ mentioned in Chand. Up. V, 11, 6 is Brahman.

Pada III.

Adhikarana *one* (sutras 1-7) proves that the being within whom heaven and earth etc. are woven mentioned in Mund. Up. II, 2, 5 is Brahman, on account of the term Ātman being used for it; and on account of its being designated as that which the released have to resort. It cannot be pradhāna, nor the individual soul owing to the declaration of difference. It is to be noted that sutras 2, 5, 7 specially refer to the difference between Jīva and Brahman.

Adhikarana *two* (sutras 8-9) shows that the “bhūmān” (that which is great) in Chand Up. 7, 23, 24 is Brahman only and that it cannot be prāṇa or the vital air, on account of information about it being given subsequent to Samprasāda i.e., bliss. (Ramanuja, Vallabha, and Nimbarka follow this explanation). But Mādhava seeks to show that the words Samprasāda etc. signify on account of its being above all and of its being of the nature of unsurpassed bliss. This interpretation according to Dr. Ghate is a little far-fetched and twisted.

Adhikarana *three* (sutras 10-12) teaches that aksai (the

imperishable one) spoken of in Br. Up. III, 8,8 is Brahman.

Adhikarana four (sutra 13) that the parahpurusa (the highest person) to be meditated upon by the syllable OM, mentioned in Prasn. Up. V, 5 is the highest Brahman, because of its being designated as the object of realization (ईक्षतिकर्मव्यपदेशात्) and not the lower Brahman (according to Sāmkara) Ramanuja and Nimbarka who do not maintain this twofold character of Brahman seek to prove that the alternatives referred to are Brahman and Brahmadeva Dr. Ghate opines that Sāmkara's way of translating the sutra is more natural than of other commentators like Ramanuja.

Adhikarana five (sutras 14-21) the question is whether the small ether (dharah akāśah) within the lotus of the heart, mentioned in Chand. Up. VIII, 1,1 is elemental ether, or Jīva or Brahman. The subsequent sutras make the meaning clear for the attributes applied to it are those of Brahman, such as being free from sins etc. Sāmkara seeks to prove that 'dharah akāśah' refers to Brahman and the difference pointed out between Brahman and Jīva is only intended to convey the impression that the difference is only illusory and in fact Jīva with its limiting adjuncts removed is nothing more nor less than Brahman. Sutra 19, literally translated runs thus: 'If it be said that from a subsequent passage, (it appears that the individual soul is meant), it is, however, the one whose true nature has become manifest.'

The next two sutras 22-23, form an independent adhikarana (sixth) according to Sāmkara (whom Mādhava follows) deciding that 'He after whom everything shines' (cf. Mund. Up. II, 2,10) is not some material luminous body, but Brahman itself. According to Ramanuja, Nimbarka and Vallabha they form part of the preceding adhikarana, giving only additional arguments for understanding 'dahara' to mean Paramātman. Dr. Ghate seems to favour the view held by Ramanuja.

Adhikarana seven (sutras 24-25), decides that the Being

measured by the thumb referred to in Katha. Up. II, 4,13 is Brahman, it is so described, because it dwells for the purpose of devout meditation in the heart of the devotee. The heart is of the measure of the thumb for men alone are qualified for such meditation.

The next two adhikaranas (sutras 26-33, & 34-38) form a sort of digression. The question is whether men alone are qualified for Brahmavidyā. The eighth adhikarana decides that the Gods also are qualified for Brahmavidyā; the ninth denies this qualification to Sudras. Adhikarana ten (sutra 39) says that Prāṇa before whom everything trembles (Katha. Up. II, 6,2) is Brahman. Adhikarana eleven (sutra 40) says that jyotiḥ (light) mentioned in Chand. Up. VIII, 12, 3 is Brahman.

Saṅkara regards sutras 24 to 40 as forming five adhikaranas but Ramanuja and Nimbarka seem to think that they form in fact only one adhikarana, referring to the "अत्यन्ताः ग्री." .

Adhikarana twelve (sutra 41) decides that the ether which reveals names and forms (Chand. Up. VIII, 14,1) is neither the elemental ether, nor the individual soul, but the highest Brahman. The next two sutras 42-43 according to Saṅkara and Vallabha form a separate adhikarana deciding that the Vījñāna-Maya (he who consists of knowledge) spoken of in Brhd. Up. IV, 3-7 is not the individual soul, but Brahman, Ramanuja and Nimbarka regard the three sutras as forming one adhikarana dealing with Ākāsa in Chand. Up. VIII, 14, 1 sutra 42 distinctly speaks of the difference between Brahman and Jīva. Mādhaba prefers to take all the three sutras as forming three different adhikaranas referring to the Ākāsa in Chand. Up. VIII, 14, 1 the prajna (Brhad. Up. IV, 3, 21) and to the Lord of all (Brhad. VI, 4, 22) respectively and decides that all these are nothing but the Highest Brahma.

Pada IV.

It has already been shown in Adhyāya I Pada I Adhikarana 5 that Pradhāna of the Sāṃkhya cannot be the cause of the

world, because no support for such a contention is found in the scriptures. Certain passages however are to be found in the Upanisads that contain terms familiar to the Sāṃkhya doctrine. The last pada of the first adhyāya seeks to prove that such terms cannot but denote something connected with the Vedānta doctrine.

The *first* adhikarana (sutras 1-7) the word *avyakta* (the undeveloped), occurring in Katha. Up. I, 3, 10 and 11 does not denote the Pradhāna, but the subtle body. Saṃkara, Ramanuja and Nimbarka agree exactly. Mādhava however thinks that ‘avyakta’ denotes Visnu because Jñeyatva (being the object of knowledge) can never be mentioned for anything but Visnu. According to Vallabha, it denotes the grace of the Lord, which is identical with Lord himself or with the Brahman that is subtle.

Adhikarana *two* (sutras 8-10) shows that the tri-coloured unborn one (tri-rūpa aja) in Svet. Up. IV, 5 cannot be the pradhāna of the Sāṃkhyas but, it is ‘Jyotirupakarma’, the causal matter of the world, consisting of three elements of light, water, earth or it is the divine power of Brahman which creates this causal matter. Ramanuja and Nimbarka think that ‘aja’ means ‘the suksma-cid-acid vastu’ the intelligent and material world in its subtle condition which forms the very body of the Paramātman. Vallabha generally follows Saṃkara, though he reads sutra 9 as ‘ज्योतिः उपक्रमात्’ ‘the aja’ is jyotiḥ i.e., the first creation of Brahman. (Cf. Bible—light the first product of creation).

Adhikarana *three* (sutras 11-13) according to all commentators decides that the ‘पञ्चजना’ in Brahd. Up. IV, 4, 17 are not the twenty-five principles of Sāṃkhyas, but the five Prāṇas.

Adhikarana *four* (sutras 14-15) asserts that there is no contradiction in regarding one whose essence is intelligence being the cause of the world. Ramanuja and Nimbarka seem to think that these sutras continue the argument referred in the preceding sutras—the refutation of Sāṃkhya.

Saṅkara thinks that it decides that although there may be contradiction among the texts as to the order of creation, there is no such contradiction regarding Brahman being the cause of the world....

Adhikarana five (sutras 16-18) according to Saṅkara and Vallabha proves that 'he who is the maker of those persons of whom all this is the work' mentioned in Kaus. Up. IV, 19 is neither the vital air, nor the individual soul, but the Brahman. Ramanuja and Nimbarka see in it the refutation of the Sāṅkhya, who see in this passage the purusa.

Adhikarana six (sutras 19-22) demonstrates that the self to be seen, to be heard etc. in Brahd. Up. II, 4, 5 is not the individual soul, but the Highest Self. It is interesting to note that a relation has been referred to between the Jīva and the Brahman by the word 'avasthiti.' Ramanuja and Nimbarka seek to prove that the unity referred to between the two only shows that Brahman is the 'ruler within' the 'Antaryāmin,' the individual soul constituting His body. Vallabha thinks that the word means avasthā or condition and since the individual soul is nothing more than an avasthā or condition of the manifestation of Brahman the relation of unity referred to is correct. Dr. Ghate is of opinion that the word duly refers to a general relation between the two—the Jīva and Brahman.

Adhikarana seven (sutras 23-27) teaches that Brahman is not only the efficient or nimitta Kāraṇa of the world, but the material cause as well (upādāna or prakṛti). Ramanuja and Nimbarka see in this adhikarana the refutation of the Sāṅkhya doctrine where the efficient and the material cause of the world being Purusa and pradhāna of prakṛti respectively. Mādava has consistently tried to show that all the adhikaranas of this pada ultimately denote Viṣṇu. Words like avyakta, aja, prakṛti etc. all refer to Viṣṇu.

ADHYAYA II

Pada I.

The next adhyāya deals with the objections based on the grounds of smritis or speculative reasoning against the doctrine of Brahman established in the first adhyāya.

The *first* adhikarana (sutras 1-2) demonstrates that the acceptance of the Vedāntic doctrine of Brahman is necessary in view of the disagreement of different smritis on this point and the sūtrakāra asserts that where there is difference in smritis—that alone is to be accepted that finds support in the Śrutis. The *second* adhikarana applies the same argument to yoga.

Adhikarana *three* (sutras 4-11), the objection that Brahman which is intelligent cannot be the cause of the world which is non-intelligent is answered by pointing out instances of dissimilar causes and effects e.g., the cowdung and the scorpion produced from it etc. . . . Moreover reasoning pure and simple cannot lead us farther in metaphysical matters owing to the diversity of judgments of different Savants, who all claim to be equally infallible. It is interesting to note that this adhikarana lends support to the Pariṇāma doctrine of Sāṃkara. (Sāṃkhya refuted).

Adhikarana *four* (sutra 12) says that the same line of reasoning may be applied to other doctrines.

Adhikarana *five* (sutra 13) is interpreted differently by each commentator. According to Sāṃkara the enjoying souls (Bhoktr) and the object of enjoyment (bhogya) are really non-different from Brahman, though maintaining a distinction among themselves e.g., the waves and the ripples though non-different from the sea are yet different from each other.

Vallabha strictly follows Sāṃkara, though he takes another instance of the bracelet and the earring, which though non-different from gold are yet different from each other. Rāmānuja translates the sutra thus:—“If it be said that from Brahma

man becoming an enjoyer there follows non-distinction (of Brahman and Jiva); we reply, it may be as in ordinary life." Ramanuja seeks to establish that though Brahman has for its body the Cit and Acit and is therefore expected to be an enjoyer like the Jiva; but it is not so, for the fact of having a body (Sariratva) does not make one an enjoyer, it is the (Karmavasyatva) 'being subject to merit and demerit' that makes one the enjoyer e.g., a king though an embodied being just like his servants, does not experience their pleasure and pain. Nimbarka answers the objection by pointing out another instance e.g., the sea and the waves, the sun and its lustre are both non-different and different.

Mādhava explains the sutra to mean that Jiva though appearing to be one with Brahman in state of liberation still preserves its difference....

Dr. Ghate is of opinion that Saṅkara's interpretation is not natural. Ramanuja's interpretation seems to him to be most natural; besides being based on the authority of Dramida-bhāṣya kāra in support of his views.

Adhikarana six (sutras 14-20) states the Vedānta doctrine of the non-difference of cause and effect as opposed to Vaiśeṣika view according to which the effect is something new created from the cause. But this non-difference itself is interpreted by the different commentators to suit their own doctrine. Saṅkara for example explains it to mean that the effect is a mere super-imposition, an illusion, cause alone being real. Ramanuja thinks that the effect is the modification of cause. Nimbarka explains it to mean that the effect is both different and non-different from the cause.

The interpretation of sutra fourteen—all depends upon how the word 'vācārambhāṇam' is understood. Saṅkara explains it to mean that the difference of the effect i.e., of the pot from the clay for example is due to the forms of speech otherwise the pot is the clay which is the reality. Thus he deduces

the doctrine of mithyātva or the doctrine of the unreality of all effects. Ramanuja explains it to mean that for the accomplishment of certain activities such as bringing of water etc. the clay takes the form of a pot (having a practical purpose in view) Ramanuja's interpretation according to Dr. Ghate is more sound because the two words 'namadheyam' and 'Vācārambhaṇam' are understood to give two meanings while according to Saṅkara they will have the same meaning and hence one becomes superfluous which is incredible when we consider that the very essence of the sutras is brevity and exactitude of thought. Ramanuja explains 'nāmadheyam' to mean name as opposed to form and 'Vācārambhaṇam' means 'having nothing but a practical purpose'—the idea being that the products of clay, for instance, are clay with the difference, however, that they can serve a practical purpose, which clay in itself cannot.

Adhikarana seven (sutras 21-23) answers the objection that if Brahman and Jīva are exactly identical, as evidently follows from such passages as 'tat tvam asi' etc., then the Lord would be open to such faults as not always doing what is good and he would also be subject to the miseries of the worldly existence. Brahman is something over and above and superior to Jīva, because their difference is clearly and explicitly stated as in Brhd. Up. II, 4, 5 'the self is to be seen, to be heard etc.' and elsewhere (Chand. Up. VIII, 7, 1). This adhikarana according to Dr. Ghate leaves not the slightest doubt that according to the sutrakar, the Jīva and the Brahman cannot be absolutely non-different as understood by Saṅkara. It is worthy of note that while Ramanuja and Nimbarka translate the sutras literally, Saṅkara has to add a proviso in putting his interpretation in the sutras e.g., sutra 21 raises the objection and sutra 22 answers it, Saṅkara in explaining the adhikarana has to remark that the answer given is from the point of view of the ordinary man and that the difference maintained in sutra

22 is not real but due to the soul's fictitious limiting adjuncts. Ramanuja explains the sutras to mean—"just as the material world or Acit (of which stones are a type) can never be absolutely identical with Paramātman, in the same way, the Jīva or Cit can never be absolutely identical with Paramātman.

Adhikarana eighth (sutras 24-25) affirms that Brahman can create the world without the help of other external instruments by his own *will*.

Adhikarana nine (sutras 26-29) affirms that Brahman can create the world without himself passing into it entirely but remaining *one* and *undivided*.

Adhikarana ten (sutras 30-31) says that Brahman though unassisted can create the world by his wondrous powers. Ramanuja and Nimbarka seem to merge adhikarana nine and ten into one. For Samkara this creation is a mere illusion, for Ramanuja and Nimbarka, it is the becoming explicit of what was implicit in Brahman; for Vallabha creation is possible through the unfathomable greatness and the incomprehensible powers (*aiśvarya*) of Brahman in which all sorts of opposites are possible.

Adhikarana eleven (sutras 32-33) says that Brahman creates the world not to achieve some purpose but merely for sport. (*Lilā*).

Adhikarana twelve (sutras 34-36) states that the pains and pleasures of the beings are due to their own actions, the cycle of which is beginningless and that the charge of cruelty cannot be levelled against Him.

Adhikarana thirteen (sutra 37) finishes the first Pada by declaring that all qualities of omnipotence, omniscience are possible in Brahman and thus make it capable for the creation of the world. Mādhava divides sutras 21-31 into two adhikaranas dealing with the establishment of difference between Jīva and Brahman in the first adhikarana, as also the fact that Jīva cannot be the creator of the universe. In the second adhikarana the

creatorship of Brahman is established—though unseen, he can still produce a seen world; his Kartrtva is based upon scriptures.

Pada II.

In the second pada of this adhyāya the sutrakāra proceeds to refute the philosophical theories about the origin of the world which are opposed to the Vedānta view.

Adhikarana one (sutras 1-10) refutes the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the creation of the world by the unintelligent Prādhana the Prādhana cannot be the cause, because of the impossibility of activity, thus implying the word 'anupapatteh.' At the end of this adhikarana Ramanuja remarks that the doctrine of nirviśeṣa Brahman is even more unreasonable than the Sāṃkhya doctrine in that the latter admits of a plurality of souls to account for births and deaths; while the Māyāvādins do not even admit that.

The next adhikarana (sutra 11) answers according to Samkara the objection of Vaiśeṣika against the doctrine of intelligent Brahman being the cause of the universe. The non-intelligent world can be caused by the intelligent Brahman just as a binary atomic compound is caused by the atoms.

The third adhikarana (sutras 12-17) refutes the doctrine of the Vaisesika according to whom the world is created from atoms set in motion by the Adrsta.

Other commentators read sutras 11-17 as forming one adhikarana dealing with the refutation of Vaisesika. Sutra 11 according to them asserts that it is as unreasonable to accept the doctrine of Vaisesika as it is to accept the possibility of the production of binary and tertiary atomic compounds from the atoms and binary atomic compounds respectively. It seems awkward to understand says Dr. Ghate that the sutrakāra means to defend the Vedāntic doctrine on the ground of 'Vilksanatva' or the difference of nature between cause and effect,

a point that has already been thrashed in the preceding pada. It is more reasonable therefore to suppose that it is the refutation of Vaisesika doctrine of creation of the world.

The *fourth* adhikarana (sutras 18-32) aims at the refutation of Bauddhas—both the realists and the idealists as well as the nihilists. Sutra 30, according to Saṅkara, Nimbarka and Vallabha, maintains the impossibility of the existence of mental impressions in the absence of the perception of external objects; while according to Ramanuja it maintains the impossibility of the existence of mere cognitions devoid of corresponding things, owing to our never perceiving cognitions not referring to a cognising object.

Adhikarana *five* (sutras 42-45) refers to the Pañcarātra or Bhāgavata doctrine. According to Saṅkara and Vallabha the sutrakāra means to refute the doctrine; but according to Ramanuja, the first two sutras raise possible objections against the Bhāgawata doctrine and the last two sutras i.e., 44-45 answer them and establish the doctrine which in fact is the doctrine propounded by the sutrakāra. Nimbarka however thinks that the reference is to the Śakti doctrine and that it is meant to be refuted in these sutras. Mādhava also follows Nimbarka.

It is very difficult to decide which of these interpretations is the correct one; it seems quite natural to expect the refutation of the only doctrine left which though very much akin to the Vedāntic doctrine has still its peculiarities. It is difficult to understand that the sutrakāra aims to establish this doctrine as his own though he scrupulously avoids such terms as Vasudeva Saṅkarṣaṇa etc. so peculiar to the Pancarātra through the whole treatise. Moreover it is only Ramanuja of all the commentators who maintains this position. The fact that this doctrine is refuted last of all can be explained by the circumstances that it is the most allied to the Vedānta doctrine.

Pada III.

This pada of the second adhyāya deals with different forms of existences and discusses which of them are produced.

Adhikarana *one* (sutras 1-7) teaches that *ether* is not co-eternal with Brahman, but springs from it as its first effect.

Adhikarana *two* (sutra 8) tells that air springs from ether.

Adhikarana *three* (sutra 9) forms a digression establishing the eternal existence of Brahman.

Adhikaranas *four*, *five* and *six* (sutras 10-12) teach respectively that—‘fire springs from air, water from fire, and earth from water.’

Adhikarana *seven* (sutra 13) proves that it is Brahman only in these various forms, to which the creation of the elements is due; and that it is not effected by the elements themselves.

Adhikarana *eight* (sutra 14) teaches that the order of re-absorption of the elements is just inverse to that of their creation.

Adhikarana *nine* (sutra 15) observes that the above-mentioned order of creation and absorption of the elements is not disturbed by the organs of sense and the mind....

Ramanuja prefers to make sutras 10-15 forming only one adhikarana attempting to establish that it is the Brahmans that is the cause of all the elements which appear to originate from one another in an order of succession. Sutras 10-12 according to him thus form the ‘*purvapaksa*’ and sutra 13 forms the ‘*Siddhānta*.’ Nimbarka follows Ramanuja but differs from him in dealing sutras 14-15 as forming two separate adhikaranas. Mādhaba regards sutras 10-15 as forming five adhikaranas, but he interprets sutras 10-12 to mean that the elements are all produced from Vishnu, and not that the subsequent element is produced from the preceding one. Sutra 13 is interpreted to mean that not only the creation but the destructions also proceeds from Vishnu. Sutras 15, 16 form two adhi-

karanas forming the 'purvapaksa' and the 'siddhānta' respectively.

Adhikarana *ten* (sutra 16) and the rest of the pada deal with the nature of the individual soul. sutra 16 establishes that the individual soul is unborn and eternal and that it is the body that suffers death and destruction. Saṅkara, Niimbarka and Vallabha agree literally.

Adhikarana *eleven* (sutra 17) asserts that individual soul is not produced since the scriptures nowhere speak of it, but everywhere assert its eternal character. Mādhava differs from the rest of the commentators in interpreting this sutra to mean that the soul i.e., the Parmātman is not destroyed or absorbed in something else.

Adhikarana *twelve* (sutra 18) which runs as ज्ञोज्जत् एव is interpreted by Saṅkara to mean that the individual soul is knowledge (jñānam); while Ramanuja and Niimbarka explain it to mean that the Jiva is a Knower (Jīva ought to mean Knower) (ज्ञानस्वरूपत्वे) Dr. Ghate thinks that the interpretation given by Ramanuja and Niimbarka seems to convey the real meaning of the sutra; for, if indeed the sutrakāra had held the doctrine of Saṅkara, that the Jiva is knowledge and thus absolutely non-different from Brahman, we should have expected him to say 'Jñānam,' instead of saying 'Jñah and then understanding it in the sense of Jñānam.

Adhikarana *thirteen* (sutras 19-32) seeks to decide the relation of the individual soul to the world of space; in short seeks to determine its spatiality. The question is whether the soul is Vibhu (all-pervading), the middle size (मध्यम परिणाम) or aṇu (atomic) in size. Sutras 19-28 assert that the soul is aṇu i.e., atomic and all except Saṅkara hold it to be the sutrakāra's view, while Saṅkara thinks it to be a *prima facie* view to be refuted in the succeeding sutras (29-32). The difference of opinion centres round sutra 29 which literally translated

runs thus—"but, on account of that quality (or those qualities or the qualities of that) being the essence, there is that designation (or the designation of that): just as is the case, for example with the prājña."

Now Saṅkara begins the Siddhānta with this sutra refuting the atomic size of the Jīva. He means that the Jīva though really all-pervading and non-different from Brahman, is called 'aṇu', because, the qualities of the Buddhi, the limiting adjunct, form its essence, as long as it is in the condition of the worldly existence; the atomic size of Buddhi is only metaphorically predicated of the Jīva and (sutra 30) this connection of the Jīva with Buddhi lasts as long as the Jīva continues to be in Saṃsāra. And if we do not admit of such a Buddhi (sutra 30) or internal sense organ, the Jīva would be always perceiving or would never perceive. Saṅkara thus establishes that the Jīva is really not aṇu (atomic).

Ramanuja interprets sutra 29 thus: The Jīva, though really a knower, is, however, designated as knowledge because that quality, knowledge, forms his very essence. It must be remembered here that Ramanuja tackles on sutra 18, 'the self is a knower,' with this adhikarana. The soul being knower by this very nature, he will be knowing everything at every place, if he is all-pervading. This objection is answered according to Ramanuja when it is established that the soul is atomic. The question remains of the Jīva and Jñāna. If Jñāna is only an attribute of Jīva, why is it called Jñāna instead of Jñātr? The answer according to Ramanuja is that Jñāna forms the very essence of Jīva, hence such a designation involves no objection. And (sutra 31) this knowledge is present always though it may be sometimes non-manifested e.g., in the state of deep sleep. And (sutra 32) if the Jīva is only knowledge and not a knower, and if he is all-pervading and not atomic, then there would be always perception or no perception. Ramanuja thus establishes the anutvā of Jīva. Nimbarka

holds with Ramanuja the anutva of the Jīva. He interprets the last four sutras differently. The Jīva, he says, though really atomic in size, is sometimes designated as all-pervading, because the quality of knowledge, which is all-pervading, forms his essence. Vallabha interprets still more differently. The Jīva, he says, though aṇu, is designated as Brahman e.g., in such sentences as 'tat tvam asi,' because the qualities of Brahman form the essence of Jīva, distinguishing it from the inanimate world. Mādhaba regards sutras 19, 26 as one adhikarana, establishing the anutva of the Jīva; sutra 27 speaking of the uniform and multiform nature of the Jīva, sutras 28-29 attempted to reconcile the difference and non-difference.

Dr. Ghate says that 'If we compare all these interpretations, especially of sutra 29, we find that none is quite satisfactory by itself; and an impartial critic, it would appear, will find the interpretations of Saṅkara and Ramanuja least satisfactory. That the sutrakāra is in favour of the atomic size of the individual soul is very probable, though not absolutely certain. It is no doubt curious, as Thibaut observes that as many as nine sutras should be devoted to the statement of a mere prima facie view to be refuted afterwards. At the same time such a course is not impossible and especially the word 'tu' (but) in sutra 29, leads us at first sight to believe that a new point of the siddhānta, as opposed to the prima facie view, begins. Saṅkara's interpretation appears far-fetched. That the pronoun 'tad' in the word तद्गुणसारत्वात् should refer to Buddhi all at once, without any reference whatsoever to it seems rather awkward.

The explanation of the word 'prājñavat' in the sutra offers a serious difficulty; because, really speaking we see no difference whatsoever between the 'drstānta', the illustration and the 'drstāntika' the thing illustrated. Jīva is called atomic etc. owing to the atomic size of the limiting adjuncts of Buddhi, just as for instance, the prājña or the Paramātman is designated as being atomic etc. owing to the qualities of its upādhis or

limiting adjuncts. But Brahman and Jīva being the same, we fail to see how one illustrates the other. Ramanuja's interpretation of sutra 29 is no doubt straightforward, if taken by itself, but it is evidently out of context, as it raises the question of the Jīva being knowledge of knower, touched upon in sutra 18.

"I am inclined to believe, that on the whole the interpretations as proposed by Nimbarka and Vallabha are most satisfactory and least far-fetched. We cannot see our way to find Saṅkara's system in the sutras; and very probably the sūtrakāra holds that the Jīva is atomic and has knowledge as his attribute, being at the same time of the nature of knowledge—a point common to all the four Vaisnava schools." (Ghate).

Sutras 33-40 forming the next adhikarana establish according to all except Saṅkara 'the Kartrtva as a natural attribute of the individual soul who splits up the sutras into two adhikaranas; the one establishing the Kartrtva of the soul and the second (sutra 40) deciding whether this Kartrtva is natural, inherent or only superimposed and Saṅkara thinks that the sutra shows that this activity is only superimposed. Dr. Ghate thinks that the opinion of Saṅkara is far-fetched.

Saṅkara's interpretations seems to be even more far-fetched, when we look to sutra that follows which means—"but this Kartrtva (of the soul) is from the Highest Self, for it is so said in scriptures.' The question raised is whether the self is absolutely independent in his action or is dependent on someone else; and the answer is unanimously given that the self derives his capacity as an agent from the Highest Self.

Now if it were decided that the self is not an agent at all, that his Kartrtva is only superimposed on him, how could the question arise whether the self is an independent agent or a dependent one?

It is very difficult to decide which of these interpretations is the right one; still this does not effect our general conclusion

that according to the sutrakāra, the individual self is an agent by its nature, though it depends upon the Paramātman.

Sutras 41-42 establish that the Kartrtva of the self depends upon the Highest Self, who has regard for the efforts made by the former, there is nothing deserving to be noticed as all agree in their explanation of them.

The next adhikarana (sutras 43-53) deals with the relation of the Highest Self and the Individual Self, between Brahman and Jīva. Sutra 43 literally, translated, would run thus: The individual soul is a part of Brahman on account of the declaration of difference and because in a different way also, e.g. some record that Brahman is of the nature of slaves, fishermen etc.

The sutrakāra distinctly says that the individual soul must be regarded as a part of Brahman, because it is both spoken of as being different and non-different from Brahman. So, we must understand this 'Amśatva' or being a part, in such a way as to make room for both difference and non-difference. Dr. Ghate proposes to reject the interpretation of Saṅkara at the very outset as it makes use of his usual device of understanding passages that declare non-difference to be the siddhānta and those that declare difference as the popular notion of things. That such a method is arbitrary and one-sided has been shown previously.

Nimbarka's explanation however is most satisfactory which is also generally called 'bhedābheda vāda.' By 'amśa' or a part is not to be understood a piece cut and separated, for that would involve an absolute difference, and would contradict such passages 'thou art that!' But 'amśa' here means 'śakti' or capacity, and Brahman possesses various capacities, which are of the nature of the animate and inanimate worlds.

The succeeding sutras confirm this view. The question raised as to how the Brahman being of the same nature as Jīva (for the Jīva is the 'amśa' of Brahman) escape experiencing

pleasure and pain like the Jīva? The answer is given that just as light assumes different shapes in different places without being effected by them, or just as ākāśa is not effected by the qualities of the different sounds, which are only so many arīśas or saktis or capacities of the ākāśa, in the same way Brahman remains unaffected. According to Ramanuja the Jīva is only an attribute of Brahman; a prakāra or visesaṇa, the Brahman is distinct from Jīva just as fire (which has light as its attribute) is distinct from light.

Sutra 48 accounts for the prohibitions and injunctions for the different Jīvas, in spite of the fact that all individual souls are alike aspects of Brahman. This is possible, for say fire though alike everywhere, is accepted if it be from the house of a Śrotriya, but avoided if found in a cemetery. In the same way are to be explained the injunctions and prohibitions on account of their connection with different bodies. Sutra 49. raises the question about the confusion of the results of actions of the different individual souls.

Sutra 50 literally translated means 'it is just an appearance.' Saṅkara interprets it to mean that the Jīva is only a reflection. 'pratibimba' of Brahman. It is neither the same as Brahman, nor a different entity from it. Thus it is that one soul is not effected by the acts of another soul, though they are all non-different from it; just as the reflection of one and the same original object, in different media or reflecting substances, are different and are not confounded, one with the other. Vallabha translates the sutra like Saṅkara; but for him the appearance is a veritable reality.

Ramanuja and Niimbarka explain the word ābhāsa to mean 'hetvābhāsa'—a fallacious argument. Both think this sutra to be directed against those who maintain plurality of souls with their all-pervading quality, saying that all their arguments for explaining away the confusion of individual spheres of enjoyment is fallacious.

The three remaining sutras of the adhikarana are directed by Saṅkara, Nimbarka and Vallabha against the doctrine of the individual souls being many and at the same time all-pervading. Ramanuja thinks them to be directed against those who think that the individual soul is Brahman, in so far as determined by real limiting adjuncts.

Mādhava interprets sutras 46-55 in a different way. The Jīvas according to him are of two kinds, those which are 'bhinnāṁśa' i.e., parts of Brahman and quite different from it; and those which are 'abhinnaṁśa' or 'svarūpāṁśa' i.e. parts of Brahman but substantially and potentially non-different. The former are the ordinary individual souls, which or of inferior capacities and possess only a little resemblance to the Highest Self; while the latter are such incarnations as the Primeval Fish, the Tortoise etc., which do not differ from Brahman in the least in point of power and nature:—'Considering the several interpretations of the sutras of this adhikarana, we can safely dispose off that of Mādhava as being uncalled for by the context and very sectarian.' (Dr. Ghate).

As for the rest it is very difficult to decide which is better. The word 'āṁsaḥ' however makes it impossible that there can be even the least ground for holding that the sutrakār held Saṅkara's doctrine. The individual souls may be apart of the Highest Self, because the statements of difference as well as non-difference between them can be asserted by him alone who holds that the individual souls are as real as the Highest Self, being at the same time not absolutely different from Him.

Pada IV.

This pada proceeds to consider the passages referring to the prāṇas or the sense-organs which form the necessary accompaniment of the individual soul as long as it is in this worldly existence or samsāra.

Adhikarana one (sutras 1-4) teaches that the prāṇas are created from Brahman. The prāṇas (i.e., the organs of sense, those of action and the internal organ or manas) are produced like ether and other elements. Ramanuja differs in his interpretation of the sutras and thinks that prāṇas spoken of in sutras 2 and 3 mean Paramātman. Ramanuja's view seems to be far-fetched and the meaning given to the sutras by Saṅkara and Niimbarka is certainly more satisfactory. Mādhaba has three adhikaranas instead of one but he is clear on the point that prāṇas including manas are produced. Vallabha entirely differs from others in coming to the conclusion that the prāṇas are just as unborn as the individual souls. The word tathā in the first sūtra तथा प्राणः means according to Vallabha यथा जीवः तथा in contradiction with the others according to whom it means यथा विहदादयः तथा. Thus the prāṇas, according to Vallabha, possess all the attributes of the individual souls, except that the intelligence is obscured in them, while it is manifested in the individual souls.

It is very interesting to see two absolutely different conclusions arrived at from the same sutras. And one cannot help remarking that Vallabha's interpretation is even more natural than that of others, specially when he refers 'tathā' to the preceding sutras, while other commentators connect it with 'ether' discussed in the first half of the preceding pada.

Adhikarana 2 (sutras 5-6) asserts that these prāṇas are eleven in number (i.e., five organs of sense, five organs of action and manas).

Adhikarana 3 (sutra 7) says that these prāṇas are anu or minute also. This minuteness here does not mean being of the size of an atom, but being subtle and limited in size.

Adhikarana 4 (sutra 8)—all the attributes of the prāṇas, so far mentioned, are transferred (atidesa) to the chief vital air (mukhkheja prāṇa).

Saṅkara, Niimbarka and Vallabha regard these two sutras

forming two adhikaranas which Ramanuja regards as forming one adhikarana.

The next adhikarana 5 (sutras 9—12) deals with the nature and character of the chief vital air. It is neither the elemental air, nor the activities of senses, but a separate entity, on account of its being mentioned separately. It is at the same time subordinate to the individual soul like the eye and other organs. The objection that if it is a separate organ, it must have a separate special function is aptly answered by Ramanuja who says that the objection is invalid for the scripture actually speaks of its special function viz., the supporting of the body and the senses. The chief prāna is besides spoken of as having five functions like the mind. Mādhava regards sutras 8 and 9 forming one adhikarana teaching the special creation of the chief vital air; sutras 10-11 forming the second adhikarana asserting that the chief vital air also is subject to Paramātman like the eye etc.

Sutra 13 forming the next adhikarana 6 asserts . that the chief vital air also is anu i.c., subtle and limited in size.

The next three sutras (14-16) forming one adhikarana is explained by Saṅkara to mean—‘the prāṇas perform their functions as presided over by their respective deities and not independently. Nimbarka follows Saṅkara except in the third sutra, which he explains as meaning that the connection of the prāṇas with the individual soul (as opposed to their connection with the deities presiding over them) is eternal.

Mādhava offers as usual a different interpretation. Though the prāṇas are subject to and instruments of the individual soul, still it is Brahman which abides in fire etc., and which causes the prāṇas to perform their functions.

The next adhikarana (sutras 17-19) which is interpreted alike by all, asserts that the prāṇas are the senses i.e., independent principles, and not mere modifications of the chief vital air, on account of the designation being applicable to them

...and on account of the scriptural statement of difference, and also on account of the difference in their characteristics.

The next and last adhikarana (sutras 20-22) is also interpreted alike by all and it asserts that the fashioning of names and forms belongs to the Paramātman and not to the individual soul; and that it is on account of the preponderance of a particular element that there are distinctive names.... Thus the last adhikarana discusses whether the activity of creation belongs to the Paramātman or the individual soul....

ADHYAYA III

Pada I.

The first two adhyāyas we may note in passing dealt mainly with the essential nature of Brahman. In the third and fourth adhyāyas the sutrakāra proceeds to enquire into the nature of the means of attaining the Brahman and the nature of that attainment. How logical and how exact is the way of treatment of the sutras may be gathered from the very arrangement of the adhyāyas ; having established the goal to which everybody must reach—the final goal ‘the one far off divine event to which the whole creation moves’ and should move, the sutrakāra proceeds to describe the way in which such an end can be achieved and rounds off the whole discourse by describing the nature of such attainment lest men should mistake the false for the real. The first pada of the third adhyāya therefore proceeds to describe the imperfections of the individual soul so that Vairāgya may ensue, which is the necessary pre-requisite, the son-quo-non of the seeker after truth; what Otto calls the sense of unreality, a sense of unsecurity etc., without which one cannot so much as enter upon the path to Moksa or final beatitude.

The first adhikarana (sutras 1-7) deals with the question whether the individual soul, in obtaining a different body, goes enveloped by the subtle material element or not. The

answer is in the affirmative, because these (subtle material elements) are quite necessary as an abode to the prānas which are always attached to the soul and which also depart from the soul.

Adhikarana *two* (sutras 8-11) teaches that the souls who have enjoyed the reward of their good works in 'Chandra-loka' or the Moon, when return to the earth, their body is determined according to potentialities of their good deeds whose result they could not enjoy in the Moon and they thus take their bodies accordingly.

The *third* adhikarana (sutras 12-21) discusses the fate of those whose good deeds are not sufficient to take them to the Moon and establish the conclusion that it is only those who have knowledge (vidyā) and who perform sacrifices etc. (Karmān) that ascend to the Moon for the enjoyment of their good deeds; for the rest there is the third place the world of Yama (Yama-loka).

The next adhikarana (sutra 22) asserts that the subtle bodies of the souls, descending from the moon, through the ether, air etc. do not become identical with them but only resemble them.

The next sutra 23 forms another adhikarana stating that the entire descent of the soul occupies a very short time only.

The last adhikarana (sutras 24-27) lays down when the souls finally enter into plants and so on, they do not participate in the life of the latter, but are merely in external contact with them.

Pada II.

In the first pada of the third adhyāya the sutrakāra dealt with the course of life from one birth to another; its descent and ascent. In the second pada the sutrakāra goes on to explain the condition of the soul in the state of sleep and dreaming.

Adhikarana *one* (sutras 1-6) describes the condition of

the soul in dream. Different interpretations have been put by different commentators e.g. Samkara thinks that in the first three sutras the question raised is whether the creation in a dream is as real as the creation by which the waking soul is surrounded. The second part of the adhikarana i.e. sutras 4 to 6 state according to Samkara, the fact that the dream world is the creation of the individual soul who has the powers of knowledge and rulership in common with the Lord.

According to Ramanuja, on the other hand, the question raised in the first three sutras is whether the creation in a dream is the work of the individual soul or of the Highest Self. The first three sutras according to him state the purvapaksa and the last three the siddhānta i.e. creation even in a dream is the work of the Supreme Self.

Dr. Ghate is inclined to think that the interpretation given to these sutras by Bhāskarāchārya is better.

Bhāskara agrees with Samkara in so far as he also thinks that dream world is the creation of the individual soul and is illusory, another reason why dreams are creation of the individual is that they are inductive of good and bad fortune and no such good or ill fortune is possible in the case of the supreme soul. Then the question arises, why the creation by the individual soul should be illusory; the reply is, the full nature of the individual soul is concealed, but it becomes manifest through meditation on the Highest Self.

Vallabha agrees with Bhāskara differing only in the meaning of the fifth sutra which means according to him that the true nature of the individual soul is manifested owing to the will of the Supreme Self.

Mādhava regards creation in a dream as real, but it is caused by the will of the Supreme Self.

The *second* adhikarana (sutra 7-8) teaches according to all commentators that the individual soul abides in the Brahman within the heart.

The *third* adhikarana (sutra 9) asserts that the soul in waking and in sleep is the same. Mādhava explains the sutra to mean that the same Paramātman is the shaper of the different conditions for all the individual souls and not for some only.

Adhikarana *five* is variously interpreted. Saṅkara asserts that its purport is to determine, on a scriptural basis the nature of that Brahman in which the individual soul is absorbed in the state of deep sleep as described in the preceding adhikarana. The question is whether Brahman is *nirviśeṣa* or *svaviśeṣa*, without or with attributes. The answer given to this question by Saṅkara is that Brahman must be regarded as devoid of (all attributes) diversity; for passages describing the Brahman as *nirviśeṣa* have the Brahman for their principal subject (*tat-pradhāna*); while passages describing the Brahman as *svaviśeṣa* are not so, but they aim at *upāsanā* or meditation.. The scripture, moreover declares the Brahman to consist of that only (i.e. intelligence) and thus to be absolutely *nirviśeṣa*.

Ramanuja connects this adhikarana with the preceding one—by asking the question, whether the imperfections of the individual soul discussed above affect also the Brahman or not and the answer that is given is in the negative.

Mādhava divides sutras 11-21 into five adhikaranas. The purport of the adhikaranas (sutras 11-13) is that the Highest Self does not inherently possess difference of forms and that when it is described as having infinite forms, it is out of regard for its greatness or *aiśvarya*. In sutras 14-17 when it is said that Brahman is without form, what is meant is that Brahman is devoid of material forms. At the same time the passages describing the rupas of Brahman have their full significance in that they describe the *vilaksana* or extraordinary form of Brahman. The next adhikarana (sutra 18) asserts that though the Jīva is similar in nature to the Brahman, still it cannot be void of all difference like it, because the Jīva is only its reflection (*pratibimb*). The next adhikarana (sutra 19) states that

this similarity of nature of Jīva is not manifested without bhaktī (devotion).

Vallabha regards these sutras (11-21) as forming only one adhikarana; but the question proposed is whether the attributes of the individual souls and of the material world, sometimes affirmed of the Brahman and sometimes denied, belong to him or not. Sutras 16-18 state according to Vallabha the *prima facie* view that Brahman is only tan-mātra (i.e., intelligence pure and simple) sutras 19-21 state the siddhānta to the effect that the Brahman both has and has not the attributes of cit and acit....

Sutras 22-30 forming a new adhikarana, assert that the passage in the Brh. Up. that teaches that the highest teaching is by negation "not so, not so, etc." "अयात आदेश नेति नेति नह्येत्स्मादिति नेत्यन्यत्परमस्ति" does not mean not negate the Highest Brahman as might be supposed by some, but it only means to negative the two forms of Brahman corporeal and incorporeal, while that which is beyond these forms negated is Brahman, and it is non-manifest (sutra 23). The Yogins realize this Brahman, at the time of the Samrādhana (devotion, meditation etc.). The Brahman is devoid of all distinctive attributes as light, which appears to be different as it comes in contact with different objects. The non-difference of Brahman is repeatedly mentioned (sutra 25). Hence in sutra 26 the possibility of the Jīva becoming one with the prajña or the Highest Self is asserted.

The remaining four sutras 26-30 take up the question as to how can the passages speaking of the difference between the individual soul and the Highest Self and those speaking of their non-difference be reconciled. One view is that the relation between the prajña and the Jīva is like that between a serpent and its coils, which are non-different inasmuch as they are both serpent, at the same time different also (sutra 27). Another view is that the relation is like that between light and

its source, which are not absolutely different and have different names (sutra 28). But the siddhānta is the one stated in sutra 25 above that all difference is unreal and that the Brahman is the only reality (sutra 29). This follows from the denial of any other intelligent being than the Highest Self (e.g., Brh. Up. न्यान्योतोस्तिद्रष्टा "there is no other seer than this").

The general survey of the sutras 11-30 give an impression that the sutrakāra's attempt to reconcile opposite passages does not bear much fruit. If however we want to see some system in the sutras, the most probable one so far as these sutras go, would be the doctrine of Bhedābheda, which sees both bheda and abheda, without involving any third principle to reconcile them....

The next adhikarana (sutras 31-37) discusses certain terms applied to the Brahman that give an idea of limitation but which have to be understood only in a metaphorical sense.

The last adhikarana (sutras 38-41) decides that the fruit of actions is given by the Highest Self; and that mere Karman is incapable of producing it, if it is not aided by Him. It is to be noted here that Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini are mentioned as the advocates of Īśvara and Karman respectively.

Pada III.

The third pada deals with the meditations and cognitions leading to the attainment of the Brahman. The knowledge of these meditations and cognitions is described in various passages of the Upanisads. In Chand. Up. III, 14 e.g., it is known as the Sāndilyavidyā; that we find in Brhd. Up. V, 6 in an abridged form and again in Satpatha Brahmana X,6,3.

These three passages referred enjoin a meditation on the Brahman as possessing certain attributes, some of which are common in all the three texts (as for instance, manomaytva bhārūpatva, ac.) while others are peculiar to each separate passage, prāṇasariratva and Satya-samkalpatva, being mentioned

in the Chand. and Satpatha Brahmana, but not in the Brhd. which, on its part, specifies sarvavasitva.... Now the question raised is whether all these meditations are the same or different. In the case of rituals or sacrifices different ways could be and were adopted for one and the same sacrifice. But with cognitions the case is different. The object of these cognitions is Brahman, which is one and eternal, and unchangeable in character it is something Siddh as opposed to Karmān which is sādhya and so the cognitions must be one without difference. If there are different cognitions only one can be true and in fact one object can be cognised only in one way. Moreover the question raised a practical difficulty for the follower had to practise so many meditations, while all of them are different; if on the other hand they are one and the same, the practice of any one of them would do.

The *first* adhikarana (sutras 1-4) answers the question in a general way. The cognitions or meditations of the Brahman taught by all the Vedānta-texts are identical on account of the non-difference of injunctions.

The *second* adhikarana (sutra 5) adds as a corollary that in the case of devout meditation on the Brahman, common to several śākhās, the particulars mentioned in each śākhā have to undergo a combination, since there is no difference of essential matter.

All the commentators agree in a general way in holding that such is the subject-matter of this pada. Vallabha more particularly connects the question with different forms of the Bhagavata.

For Saṅkara the question needs no answer for to him Brahman is unqualified and one like a lump of salt (saīndhava-ghana iva) Saṅkara is aware of this and hastens at the very outset with the remark that the question raised only applies to the qualified Brahman. For he says that devout meditations on the qualified Brahman may, like acts, be either identical or different

and may have various results e.g., release by successive steps (*Karmamukti*). For Ramanuja and Nimbarka the difficulty does not arise for Brahman possesses an infinite number of auspicious qualities. For Vallabha, the Brahman owing to its marvellous and mysterious powers, can possess any forms whatsoever, even mutually opposed.

Sutras 27-31 take up the question whether good and evil works have any meaning after the soul has left the material frame. And Sāṅkara's answer is in the negative. Freedom from good and evil deeds takes place not on the way to the world of Brahman, but at the time of the departure of the soul from the body.

Ramanuja on the other hand thinks that this freedom takes place both at the time of death and also on the way to Brahman, for, if the freedom takes place entirely at the time of death, then, the subtle body would also be destroyed and the soul's going without the subtle body is impossible.

Nimbarka explains sutra 29 to mean that going on the path of God has a meaning only when both the evil and the good works are shaken off (*ubhayathā*) and not only the evil works; for if the good works still persist the going and the absence of return (*anāvṛtti*) would be contradicted. For the soul will have to return after the enjoyment of the fruits of good works.

Vallabha, according to whom sutras 27-31 refer to the bhakta and Jñānin, establishing the superiority of the former, explains sutra 29 thus: Sometimes devotion alone is said to lead to Moksa, sometimes devotion accompanied by knowledge and sometimes without devotion and without knowledge. The apparent contradiction is solved by Vallabha to suit his own view and he asserts that knowledge only helps in the *Maryāda-mārga*, that produces fruit, but not so in *Puṣṭi-mārga*.

Sāṅkara makes a distinction between the *Saguṇa* Brahman

and the Nirguṇa Brahman in interpreting sutra 39 that takes into consideration two passages from the Chand. Up. and Brhd. Up. respectively.

The last nine sutras of the pada (58-66) lay down some general principles regarding the combining of meditations and we may not stop to consider them in detail.

Pada IV.

The fourth and the last pada of the third adhyāya deals with miscellaneous questions regarding Brahma-vidyā and its auxiliaries. Knowledge of Brahman for example is not subordinate to action, but independent, that hence for the pravṛṭṭins, only vidyā is prescribed, though the actions enjoined by the scriptures such as sacrifices, conduct of certain kinds etc. are conducive to the rise of vidyā in the mind; that the duties proper for the different stages of life (Āśrama-Karmāṇī) are obligatory on him also who does not strive after mukti; that '*bālyā*' the child-like innocent state of mind, '*pāndityā*' learning and '*māṇa*' the condition of a muni; whose characteristic mark is pre-eminence of knowledge, are three conditions enjoined for the Samnyāsin.

Sutras 51-52 deserve special mention for they make a reference to the distinction of Saguna and Niguna Brahman. The question raised is about the origination of knowledge whose means of Sādhanas have been so far discussed in this pada.

What Samkara means by these sutras is that though there may be a difference as regards the vidyā, sometimes originating in this very life and sometimes not, still there is no such variation regarding mukti, which is nothing but the self. Samkara further adds that it is only with regard to Saguna vidyās, which refer to more or less attributes of Brahman, that their fruits may differ accordingly.

Ramanuja understands by the two sutras that those vidyās

which have some worldly objects as their goal may originate immediately or may not, according as there are obstacles or not. In the same way in sutra 52, there is absence of a definite rule regarding those *vidyās* which have *mukti* for their object they also originate after long or short time.

Nimbarka explaining sutra 51 just like Sankara, explains sutra 52 to mean in the same way, the fruit of *vidyā*, i.e. *mukti* originates immediately after the fall of this body or after the fall of many bodies; thus it is also equally without any fixed rule.

ADHYAYA IV

The fourth adhyāya as its name 'Phalādhyāya' indicates deals with the nature of the moksa.

The first pada takes up the question of the means of moksa and enjoins meditation on Ātman until the realization of the fruit takes place. This implies the identity of Jiva and Brahman as adhikarana 2 clearly suggests—'that the Brahman on which the devotee should meditate should be viewed by his very self.'

The second and remaining padas of the fourth adhyāya describe the condition and the path of the vidvat (the possessor of the knowledge of Brahman) after death. It is to be noted here that Sankara all through makes a distinction between the superior vidvat and the inferior vidvat i.e., between one who possessing the knowledge of Higher Brahman (*para vidyā* and *para Brahman*) and realises that he is one with it and one who knows only the Lower Brahman (*aparā vidyā* and *aparā Brahman*) and for whom the distinction of the Upāsya and the Upāsaka (the object meditated upon and the person who meditates) is not completely extinguished. According to Ramanuja and the other commentators, however, no such distinction seems to be made, the vidvat being one and the same throughout the three padas.

The third pada describes the path along which the soul goes up to Brahman and the nature of the Brahman attained thereby. The two paths are mentioned, the Deva-yāna or the path of Gods, followed by the vidvāt, as opposed to the Pitr-yāna or the path of the men, followed by the performers of sacrifices etc. The stages are Agni, the day, the bright-half of the month, the uttarāyana, the year, Vāyu, Āditya, Candra-mas, lightening, Varuṇa, Indra, Prajapati and the Brahman. It further teaches that these stations along the path of the vidvāt mean, not the places or sub-divisions of the path, but the corresponding divine beings that lead the soul on. Saṃkara of course refers all these sutras to the lower vidvāt, who is destined for the Karma mukti or emancipation coming gradually (as opposed to the sadyo-mukti or emancipation, direct and immediate); but Ramanuja and other commentators refer them to vidvāt in general.

"When we compare these interpretations" says Dr. Ghate in his 'Analysis of Vedānta' "we must confess that Saṃkara's way is open to the objection that it is rather unusual to have the Siddhānta stated first and the pūrvapakṣa afterwards. At the same time it must be granted that his translation of the sutras is more natural as far as their wordings go."

The fourth and the last pada of the adhyāya deals with the nature and attributes of the released soul and its relation to the Highest Self. Here also Saṃkara has his twofold distinction of the higher and the lower vidvāt.

The second adhikarana discusses the nature of the relation that exists between the released soul and Brahman and the word used by the Sutrakāra to denote the relation is 'avi-bhāga' which for Saṃkara means 'complete identity and for other commentators unity with difference.'

As to the nature of the released soul discussed further, both the pure intelligence form as also a form full of all attributes is mentioned. Saṃkara explains that the reference to attributes is

only from the phenomenal (*vyavaharika*) point of view. In truth the released soul is pure intelligence. The other commentators seek to prove that according to the *sutrakār* the released soul is of the nature of both. The released *Jīva* is as really intelligent, pure and simple as possessed of 'satya samkalpatva' just as a mango fruit has one flavour (*ekrasa*) and at the same time has various flavours (*rasabheda*).

. The five Commentaries or the five schools of Vedānta

The doctrine of Samkara :—Samkara's doctrine, which is usually known by the name of Kevalādvaita or absolute monism, may be summed up in the four Sanskrit words : "ब्रह्मसत्यं जगन्मित्या". It is only intelligence, without form, without qualities, without any limitations of time, space or causality, that is real..... The distinct merit of Samkara's philosophy, however is his most successful attempt to reconcile the mutually contradictory texts of the Upanisads, in other words to reconcile bold idealism, which is the result of introspection, with the realism which ruthlessly insists on forcing itself upon us from outside. This he does by his doctrine of *māyā* or the introduction in his doctrine of two aspects—the *esoterie* and the *exoterie* be it in reference to theology, or cosmology, or psychology.

Thus esoterically the Brahman or the Supreme Spirit is Knowledge or realization itself, without qualification and without possibility of change; exoterically, it is qualified, possessed of an infinite number of auspicious attributes, capable of producing this world from itself and reabsorbing it in itself :—in brief, it is *Īśvara*.

To reconcile the temporal character of creation with the doctrine of transmigration of souls from eternity Samkara posits the theory of periodic creation. This never ceasing creation on the other hand is a moral necessity,—it is neither for God's glorification nor for his particular amusement, nor is it created out of his love for mankind. The esoteric cosmology

on the other hand says that all this is a mere illusion an appearance of truth, a mirage (*mrgatrmika*) a dream; and the reality is to be attained not by reasoning (*tarka*), but by introspective realization (*anubhava*). "If you return from this variegated world to the innermost recesses of your soul (*ātman*) you will be aware of a reality which can very properly be described as 'timeless, spaceless, and changeless.'" The same thing was said by Plato, according to whom this world is a world of shadows and not of realities and the same thing has been said by Kant to whom the world is an appearance only, and not the thing in itself.

According to the esoteric psychology, the *Jīva* is Brahman itself in full total possession of eternity, omnipresence, omniscience, etc., but these godly qualities lie concealed within it as fire in the wood, and will appear only after the final deliverance. Exoterically, this concealment of the divine nature is due to the external adjuncts (*upādhis*)....

Saṅkara's system (as opposed to the *Parināma* doctrine) maintains the *Vivarta* doctrine, according to which all effects are only superimposed upon the cause, which alone is real.

Ramanuja's doctrine :—The main idea which distinguishes the doctrine of Ramanuja from the rest of the *Vedānta* schools is that the individual souls and the inanimate world, essentially different in themselves, form at the same time the body and mode or attribute of the supreme spirit; and, as such, they are incapable of an existence independent of the supreme spirit. Thus what the body is to the individual soul, so are the intelligent and the non-intelligent worlds to the supreme spirit ; and just as the body can never be the same as the soul, so the *cit* and *acit* can never be essentially the same as the Brahman.

The creation of the universe from Brahman is not a production of something new; it is only a change of attribute or condition. Thus Brahman, having for its body and mode the *cit* and *acit* in their subtle condition, is the cause, while the

same Brahman having for its body or mode the cit and acit in a gross form is the effect. The destruction of the universe is nothing but the becoming subtle of that which is gross.

The individual soul is the subject of consciousness or Knower and not mere consciousness itself. It is spoken of as Consciousness because consciousness is its essential attribute. The individual souls in their pristine purity possess all the auspicious qualities in common with Brahman (which is the reason why Jīva is often described as identical with Brahman); but they differ from it in two points : (i) they have no power whatsoever on the movements of the world, whose creation control belong exclusively to Brahman, and (ii) they are atomic in size, while Brahman is all-pervading.

Thus for Ramanuja, Brahman, cit and acit are three entities, individually distinct from each other, all equally real, at the same time all forming a unity, in the sense in which the self and its body form a unity.

Ramanuja admits the Parināma doctrine or the Sat-kāryavāda which maintains that the effect is nothing but a modification of the form of the Cause.

The devotion to Vasudeva is the only means of obtaining mokṣa. This bhakti is not knowledge but the result of knowledge; it is not belief... It is not work.....! It is the intuition or immediate presentation arising from a steady remembrance (dhruva smṛtiḥ), uninterrupted like the flow of oil, a result of meditation. The function of action thus is secondary or subordinate as with Saṃkara.

The doctrine of Nimbarka :—According to Nimbarka, there are only three principles or entities, *cit*, *acit*, and *Iśvara* or the bhoktr bhogya and the Niyantṛ.

The *cit* or individual soul is of the nature of knowledge (*Jñāna svarūpa*) it is not the phenomenon of knowledge in the sense in which Saṃkara understands it. The Jīva is the knower, although he can be both knowledge and the possessor of know-

ledge at the same time, just as the sun is both light and the source of light. The Jiva is also essentially active (Kartr). This quality belongs to it in all its conditions, even after release. Those passages which deny this kartrtva of the soul only imply that the kartrtva is not independent (Svatantra). The Jiva is also enjoyer (bhoktr) essentially in all its conditions. For his knowledge and activity, however, the Jiva depends on Hari;...The Jiva has his true form distorted and obscured owing to his contact with Karman resulting from ignorance, which is beginningless but which can come to an end by the grace of God...

The acit or non-intelligent world is of three kinds: (i) a-prakrta, (ii) prakrta, (iii) kāla or time. The three categories in their eternal form are as eternal as the cit or the individual souls.

The third principle is the Highest Self, the Brahman or Kṛṣṇa. This Kṛṣṇa is naturally free from all faults.

This Brahman is both the *Upādāna* and the *Nimitta* the material and the efficient cause of the Universe.

Thus the creation of the Universe is nothing but a manifestation in a gross form of what was subtle before and is thus a sort of modification of Parināma. To say that the universe is only superimposed on the Brahman and hence an illusion (Vivarta) is against reason.

The relation between these three principles is that of difference and non-difference which are equally real. The cit and acit are different from Brahman inasmuch as they are described by the Sruti as possessing attributes and capacities distinct from those of Brahman; at the same time they are non-different from Brahman in the sense that they are absolutely dependent on it and cannot have an independent existence by themselves. Thus in the sentence “*Tat-tvam-asī*” the word ‘tat’ signifies the Brahman which is omniscient, omnipotent of independent existence, the self of all, the word ‘tvam’ signifies

the individual soul which depends for its existence upon the Brahman; and the word 'asi' is the copula signifying the relation of the two.

To attain deliverance, the Jiva has to commence with a complete submission to the Parmātman or Prapatti whose six constituents are:—a resolution to yield—(anukuliyasya sam-kalpah) : the avoidance of opposition (raksisyatiti viśvasah), acceptance of him as saviour (gopitīva-varnam), through one's whole soul upon him (ātmaniksepanah), and a sense of helplessness (Kārpanya) God's grace extends itself to those who are possessed of these six constituents ...

The fruit of God's grace is an uninterrupted realisation of the nature and attributes of Brahman following from the absolute destruction of all nescience.

The doctrine of Mādhava :—The doctrine of Mādhava, purely dualistic in character, insists on the absolute and eternal difference, between Brahman, jīva and jada. Mādhava denies even Brahman's being the material cause of the universe, a point clearly established in the Brahmasutras...

In opposition to the pure or qualified Monism of other Vedānta schools, Mādhava propounds the five eternal distinctions, the clear understanding of which alone can lead to Mokṣa. God according to Mādhava, possesses an infinite number of qualities. His chief functions are eight : creation, protection, dissolution, controlling all things, giving knowledge, manifestation of himself, involving the individual souls in the knowledge of the world and deliverance—he is independent of everything and remains one in the midst of different forms.

Mokṣa is attained by the direct knowledge of Hari. Some of the means necessary for this direct knowledge are :—Vairāgya, Sāma, Sarnāgati and Parmātmā-bhakti. Mādhava always lays stress on those passages of the Upanisads which clearly proclaim the difference between Brahman and Jīva, such as Svetas-vatara (1, 6 ; 4, 5 ; 4, 6). or Mundaka (3, 1, 2)

while those passages referring to non-difference are explained away by him in various ways. Thus “*tat-tvam-asi*” means *tvam tadiyah asi* or *tvam tasya asi* i.e. ‘thou art His’. Duality alone can be the truth, for we everywhere see nothing but pairs or things in twos.

The doctrine of Vallabha :—The doctrine of Vallabha is called “*Suddhadvaitā*” i.e. the unity of Brahman which is pure or free from Māyā. The jīva and the inanimate world are essentially the same without involving the idea of Māyā.

According to Sankara, the Brahman can create this world only when it is conditioned by Māyā; but according to Vallabha, it is Brahman, pure and simple, and without any connection with Māyā, that can create the Universe.

The jīva is non-different from Brahman, atomic in size (sutras II, 3, 194), and a part of Brahman (cf. sutras II, 3, 43). It is produced from Brahman in the sense in which sparks are produced from fire; the jīva is a manifestation of Brahman with the attribute of bliss obscured.

The inanimate world or prapañca is also essentially Brahman (*Brahmātmaka*).

All difference or plurality is in the matter of the perception (*pratiti*) of the prapañca, but none at all in the matter of its form (*svarnpa*).

The Brahman is one, eternal, omniscient, omnipotent possessed of an infinite number of attributes, and essentially of the nature of Sat (existence), Cit (intelligence) and Ānanda (bliss).

The relation between Brahman, the Jīva and the Jāda is that of pure identity, one that exists between a part (*amsa*) and the whole (*amsin*).

It is not our purpose in this paper to assess the comparative merits of the different commentaries, but we may note in passing that Mādhaba’s doctrine of absolute duality is far from what is taught in the sutras. His theological bias and religious

predispositions stood in his way of a correct appreciation of the sutras.

In fact if we were to make a general statement as to a central problem which the sutrakār seeks to solve, we may say it for certain that it is the problem of reconciling unity and plurality. The sutras are in the nature of aphorisms and it is really so difficult to attempt to evolve a single organized system from it. A detailed analysis of the sutras has shown us that Pantheism, Theism and Absolutism have all been taken to represent the system of the Brahmasutras and there is no doubt that passages supporting each view are available from beginning to the end. For an unbiased critic it is well-nigh impossible to stand on one standpoint altogether. Saṅkara, Ramanuja, Vallabha and Nimbarka all alike seek to reconcile Unity and Plurality each in his own way though Saṅkara's way of solution is unique and stands by itself. It may however be worthwhile to suggest the points of agreement between all the commentators and this might enable us to form an idea as to the essential import of the Vedānta sutras. All the commentators agree in holding—

1. Brahman is the supreme cause of the universe.
2. Brahman is all-pervading and eternal.

3. The authority of scriptures over that of reasons—scriptures being the collection of the religious experiences of the regenerate.

4. Works subordinate to knowledge (meaning a true understanding of the ultimate problems of the universe) and devotion.

5. Deliverance from Samsāra the final Goal.

A perusal of the foregoing pages will show that the aim of the Brahmasutras is a practical one that of realizing transcendent bliss and if as we have said that the idea of God be the *soul* *qua non* of religion, the sutras are truly religious in character. "The great question for the thinker about religion is not

whether God exists, but what God is" said Webb and in the same spirit do we find the sutrakār seeking to explain what is Brahman. Nowhere do we find a question raised as to the validity of our belief in God. The first two adhyāyas deal with the essential nature of Brahman, the third with the means of attainment and the fourth with the nature of final realization.

Again, as we have pointed out in the preceding pages that the religious quest is not a wild goose chase; it is not running after shadows as some would have us believe; but it is a search after the Ultimate; a veritable reality for the religious-minded. Reason cannot give us any justification for our faith for faith is its own justification. The experiences of the regenerate may not find support in the narrow canons of the understanding, but that they are real experiences few can doubt. It is true, the struggling human beings who are blind to the Light within, being engrossed in the petty affairs of the world, are unconscious of this great truth. "The Kingdom of God is entered Sub-persona religious" and so "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see Light." The very first sutra seeks to establish the pre-conditions of a religious life. The pre-requisite is a dedicated life of faith and love. Reason has no place before the concrete experiences of the great saints and they constitute what are known as the scriptures. The preference of the authority of scriptures over reason clearly brings out the point that the aim is a practical one, how best to realize the truth.

The Brahma sutras are from beginning to end inspired with one aim and that of spiritual realization of the Highest. They seek to establish a universal religion which have no prejudices creedal or ecclesiastical, racial or communal.

CHAPTER IV

Sanikara Vedānta

In the preceding chapter an attempt was made to analyse the Brahmasutras of Bādrayana and it was noted in passing what

decoction agar begin with a fall while others begin with a rise in their rate of growth. The alternate rise and fall during growth are somewhat more equal on this media for most of the strains, i.e. the falls are about as steep as the corresponding rises. The strain K behaves differently from the others. Its rate of growth begins with a fall on the 5th day, rises on the 6th day, is uniform from the 6th to the 9th day and then falls till the 11th day. Apparently this strain stale on the medium. The strains are arranged according to the average rate as follows :—Cr, R, C, S, X and (Cl, K).

It is interesting to note, that on Cod-liver Oil Malt Extract medium which is quite different in composition to the natural fruit juice media used, the behaviour of the strains is also conspicuously different. Thus excepting one strain viz. S, all the others seem to stale on this medium. C and Cl, show only one rise and then after 4 days of uniform growth fall continuously in their rate of growth, and if larger plates were used, might have shown a cessation of growth after some days. Cr. behaves very much like C and Cl. The strains R and K show more than one rise, but on the whole their rate of growth shows a greater tendency to fall. This medium which is not a set with the fruit juice media provides an interesting contrast to the fruit juice media.

From a comparison of what has been said before it appears that strains of *Macrosporium* show an absence of a uniform rate of growth, and that there is alternate rise and fall in their rate of growth in all the fruit juice media used.

A chart of the strain and media on which they stale are given below :—

Brahman appears to be the cause of the universe endowed with omniscience and other attributes."

In his "Viveka Cudamani" Samkara has laid stress upon dreamless sleep (*susupti*) as indicative of the impermanence of the world of manifold. He argues—had the world of experience been the ultimate reality, it would have been felt in deep sleep; since it is not felt, it is unreal and illusory like dreams. Yet from the standpoint of relative experience the multicolour world is truly real. *Being* :—For Samkara however Being is the only reality. Sat-chit-Ānand—Existence, consciousness and bliss is all that constitutes Being. Being is Bliss—the consciousness of existence, because it is absolute, it is the perfection of existence. And because it is 'perfection' it is bliss. It is said in the *Sruti* "what is great and limitless is bliss, there is no bliss in littleness and limitation" (*Chandogya*). But Bliss is not pleasure for it is variable and transitory. Harmony is the soul of bliss.

The ultimate reality or the Absolute must therefore be thought of as consciousness and blissfulness of Existence. Such a conception of Brahman, however, as Existence and Consciousness, does not enter into the conditions of positive thinking; for, in the very attempt of our thinking it, it goes out of our view. It transcends all forms of relativity. It must be borne in mind, that though it is quite certain that Being in itself, is to a certain sense, unknown and unknowable; at least it is not known in the ordinary way. We may even deny the privilege of knowing the absolute to discursive thought altogether yet we cannot say that Being cannot be known. Prof. Joachim said that "It is irrelevant for Truth whether we know it or not" and Mr. A. C. Mukerji in his 'Self, Thought and Reality' rightly contends that the 'unknown' is not "unknowable" though with our limited capacities we may not know Him. The *Sruti* says "who does know the Knower of all things?"—"one who knows it not, Knows." What a great truth is uttered in

these apparently simple words. The real Knower of things does not declare it to others with pride that he knows; but in humbleness and faith he keeps within his bosom the Light eternal, enjoying the bliss of Self-forgetfulness. God reveals Himself only to those who are humble; and that humbleness is wrought by faith and love. It is the essence of the religious attitude. The soul reality of Brahman, is comprehensible only by means of the 'absolute vision;' the identity is 'parmartha-darsan-gocaram.'

In his commentary on the *Mandukya Kārikā*, Saṅkara unequivocally asserts that everything except the Absolute is *ultimately* unreal and hence any conception of the Absolute will fall short of His reality. On empirical analogy therefore the Absolute can be described only via negativa 'neti, neti, neti' (not this, not this, not this). We have seen however that though the possibility of Knowing Brahman is denied, the possibility of realizing Him is retained and in the Brahadaryanaka Upanisad we find Yajnavalka entering into a long discourse regarding the way the Atman is to be meditated on and directly felt.

When one is initiated and attains sufficient culture (religious), standing on an empirical level, he yet feels the immanence and all-pervasiveness of Existence; the entire Existence impresses us with the sense of a fulness. "This is full, that is full, from the full, the full originates; if the full is taken from the full, the full remains" (Brahadaryanaka) Vedānta teaches this fulness of Being. The soul of Vedāntic teaching lies in establishing this oneness and ever permanence of Being. The light dawns upon us like a flash and we find our souls illumined as it were by the Light Immortal. "The earth seems to be full of bliss to all beings and all beings become sweet to the earth." In fact everything is sweet, for He is the soul of everything. Everything is sweet for everything is bliss. It is then that "the meanest flower that blows, can give us thoughts too

deep for tears." From the smallest anthill to the highest achievements of human genius a single purpose appears to flow. Experience comes to us as 'an arch, where through gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades for ever and for ever.'

Though from the Vedāntic standpoint, the ultimate existence is transcendental, and does not enter into the conditions of empirical thinking; we must not identify Vedānta with any form of naive agnosticism, for Vedānta is positive and definite in its affirmation about the nature of the Ultimate substance. Saṅkara truly says that the ultimate Being is not altogether removed (एकान्तेन आवप्य) from experience; for the very fact and possibility of Knowledge, implies such an existence cogito ergo sum (I think therefore I am).

The axioms 'Tat-twam-asī' and 'aham Brahma āsmī' meaning 'Thou art that' and 'I am Brahman' have probably created the greatest havoc in the minds of religious thinkers both medieval and modern, Indian and foreign. To posit Divinity to ones ownself is the greatest sacrilege against religion according them. Man can derive his parentage from God, but never can he be God himself. The root of the trouble lies in a misconception of the procedure adopted by Saṅkara throughout his works and Prof. A. C. Mukerji has emphasized this point when he says in his book 'Self, Thought and Reality' that "Saṅkara will be misunderstood so long as we do not realize the procedure adopted by him." Like a two-edged sword Saṅkara's distinction of the Parmarthika standpoint and Vyavaharika standpoint successfully reconciles, unity and plurality, identity and difference. "Sub specie aeternitatis," Nature and soul and God are all equally appearances. But 'Sub specii temporis,' there is Nature, there is God and there are the Souls. It is like the "distinction of aparā vidya and parā vidya of the Upanisads or Doxa and Epitome of the Greeks." (Ranade cf. 'constructive Survey of Upanisad—i.e. Philosophy.'

'The Mundakopanisad tells us that there are two different kinds of knowledge. Of these two the lower knowledge is the knowledge of the Vedas, of grammar, of etymology, of metre, of the science of heavens; while the higher knowledge is that by which alone the imperishable Being is reached.'

The two statement about Brahman—(1) That He is a being of infinite attributes and (2)—that He is transcendent being devoid of all attributes, ought to be taken in two different senses for how can we ascribe and deny attributes of the Same being at one and the same time. To accept both these statements to be true is to accept the conception that from the empirical standpoint, He is a being of infinite attributes, and in His transcendent nature, we conceive Him only in a negative way.

'The real significance of the Identity conception however is to emphasize' as Dr. Sircar rightly contends, and 'impress upon our mind the identity of our being with the Absolute, and not the actual Synthesis of the two.' It only seeks to remind us that 'trailing clouds of glory do we come from God who is our home.'

As to the procedure followed by Samkara we have to find out that it is so "analogous to Plotinus for whom God is neither to be expressed in speech, nor in written discourse, though we have to rationalize on Him, in order to direct the soul to Him and to stimulate it to rise from thought to vision." Thought or understanding is the generative condition of intuition and religious or philosophic insight. Logic works up its *reductio ad absurdum* and attains to psychic vision.

It is generally said that Samkara's Advaita is a masterpiece of intellect; but it does not inspire religious piety. His Absolute cannot kindle passionate love and adoration in the soul. Far from that, on closer examination we have seen that dialectic for Samkara as for Plotinus 'is the study of first principles which leads up to (religious) intuition.' It passes through logic and at last rises above it. Philosophy furnishes with the

Ultimate idea—the goal to be reached; religion realises it. Vedantism in its quest for Reality, be that reality posited in the name of the Absolute of philosophy or the God of religion, has followed the lead of psychic experience, and seeks to open up the path of direct insight and realization.

Religion for Samkara is not doctrine or ceremony, but life and experience. The controversy with Mandana Misra shows that Samkara was opposed to exclusive ritualism. As Jesus denounced the Pharisees and Paul protested against the law, Samkara declared that ceremonial piety by itself was not the end of religion and was often its deadly enemy.

On the other hand Samkara is never tired of reminding that mere intellectual wisdom by itself (Pandityam) cannot lead one to the Realization of the Absolute. In order to realize God one must attain the stage of childlike innocence (Balyam); for the Kingdom of God can be entered only "sub-persona-infantis." In his commentary on the Brahma sutras we have seen that in interpreting the first sutra, Samkara points out the conditions or qualifications necessary for the one starting on the path of realization, we have also seen that it is the religious insight (anubhava) and not mere reasoning that opens up the gates for the vision of the divinity. Samkara emphasized the religion of truth rooted in spiritual inwardness. The sole spiritual vocation of man consists in the discovery of reality and not what serves our temporal ends.

Samkara like Spinoza endorses the dictum—"That he who truly loves God cannot wish that God should love him in return."

In spite of the fact that Samkara rejects the idea of a personal God and his spiritual faith needs no shrines and ritual; yet he had a sufficient sense of the historic to recommend it them to those who want. His conception of the Saguna Brahman is meant for those struggling millions, who on account of ignorance cannot see the Truth. The conception of māyā is

another example of Samkara's consideration for those who fail to rise to the stage where they may behold the vision of the Absolute in reality.

The author of *Yoga-vasista* has made a classification of men (1) truth seers (सत्यदर्शी) to whom the order of empirical existence possesses no meaning or value, and to whom the world of modes, forms and names (nam-rupa) has ceased to exist.

(2) Seekers after truth (विवेकी), to whom the order of empirical existence appears as mysterious, as something not purely being nor purely non-being, which appears real without being so.

(3) The ignorant, to whom the objects of experience are the only realities. But we must not forget that Vedantism is an exclusive attempt to establish the identity of Being by the negation of appearances. The question as to the explanation of this empirical show of existence is not a problem for the Vedantin. Since Being is the only reality, becoming is obviously false (*Vedānta Paribhāsā*). It is Māyā, nescience that spins the web of empirical existence. The emergence of the infinite process of becoming from Brahman through Māyā is figuratively described as the 'Lilā of Brahman.'

For the Vedantin, it is a pragmatic necessity and the consequent pragmatic satisfaction that requires us to conceive the Absolute as a personal existence fulfilling the demands of human love and devotion. It should be noted here that the very essence of 'Lilā' lies in ignorance of the real thing, for *Lilā* means sportive or playful activity.

Vedantism clearly sees the two aspects of absolute existence—transcendent and immanent, but instead of reconciling them, it lays more emphasis on the transcendence of Being and regards immanence as relative to inmate ignorance and the experiences contained therein. In this Vedantism derives its support not from logic alone but through mystic intuition

(anubhava), a religious insight.

Samkara recognises a dualism of pure and practical reason, of reason and will. The main ethical ideal will be to set aside this dualism by establishing the superior claim of the Identity consciousness over the solicitations of sense and the readiness of will to satisfy them. Vedantism does not accept the transformation of will as an ideal in moral life. It looks for the rise of a spiritual consciousness that alone is capable of realizing the highest truths of morality and religion.

But the life of real renunciation, forsooth comes only when we feel deep within us a resolve to go away and transcend empiric life in order to realise the Identity of Being. When such a state is actually attained, we can understand what we practically mean by the assertion that the world is an illusion and that not a moment too soon. In his conception of the Saguna Brahman, Samkara suggests the possibility of a life of love in service and service in love for the souls yearning for Spiritual evolution. The conception of Saguna-Brahman may be a pragmatic necessity, but Samkara clearly sees that the esoteric teachings of the Vedānta cannot be revealed unto him who has not the sufficiency of this pragmatic satisfaction.

In the course of progressive realization, the seeker has to pass through three stages (1) the egoistic or the altruistic, when he is assailed by personal pleasures and pains, (2) the humanistic, a stage of life in service and love, when there is a gradual self-opening of the individual to the universal life. The life of self-sacrifice; Karma in love and faith is the indication of the heart open to the expansive life (the niśkāma Karma-yoga) (3) a step higher, this expansive movement originates in us the newer forms of heart beats due to the life current expressing itself in the form of love and glory and prepares for mystic visions of sweetness and bliss. This is the life of devotion centered in mystic intuitions. Devotion however may be of two kinds (1) abheda-upāsanā in which the identity of

Being is kept in view, where the seeker gradually loses himself in the object of love and worship, (2) bheda-upāsanā in which a difference in identity is kept in view; where the seeker embraces the delight current, enjoys its soothing touch and still keeps himself separate.

Saṅkara is however never tired of emphasizing that the ethico-religious training is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. The higher religious life is a life of wisdom—a life of “repose that ever is the same,” where all is still. In the calmness of the mystic consciousness, the seer sees the vision Divine. Any description of such a state will fall far short of its real content, and we can do no better than describe it in negative terms. By constant culture a state of existence is reached whence the panorama of cosmic existence appears to be a shadowy and unsubstantial appearance vanishing in the glory and the freshness of perpetual Light. The five fold training of Āsana, Prānāyām, Dhyāna, Dhāranā and Samādhi advocated by the Vedāntin, helps to purify the whole being of the seeker; his empirical being with all its associations and apertures is destroyed as a result of constant training. ‘Sravana’, ‘Manana’ and ‘Nididhyāsana’ are resorted to as aids to the destruction of Avidya nescience. The yogic penetration has the immediate effect of enlarging and widening the range of mental vision, for it brings out the hidden potentialities of the instinct of service, love, aesthetic delight and Knowledge. Yet the immediate cause of emancipation is Knowledge (jnanam).

In Saṅkara Vedānta, therefore, the ethical life gradually transforms itself from active usefulness and regulation of conduct to search after truth, for it soon discovers that truth is our being. The expansive delight is then transformed into the consciousness of the truth; the consciousness of the identity of our being. Saṅkara emphasized the religion of truth rooted in spiritual inwardness—Thus he was free from both scepticism and fanaticism. The sole spiritual vocation of man consists in the dis-

covery of reality and not what serves our temporal ends. In the Chandogya Upanisad VI, Shvet Ketu, when he returned from his preceptor after twelve years of study of all the Vedas he became arrogant. His father then asked him if he knew that which once known, everything else becomes known? This verily is the knowledge of Brahman that is Known in the mystic consciousness of the identity of our being. A similar question is raised by Naciketas, son of king Vajashravasa, in the Katha Upanisad. Yama the God of death offered Naciketas all the wealth and pleasures of the world as a boon, but he would not have them. He wanted to solve this mystery and riddle of life rather than to obtain all the riches of the world and all the comforts that they could purchase. He had realized that the quest for truth is better than quest for wealth or pleasure; the spiritual longing of man after the realization of his highest, inmost, truest, and most immortal essence that is good in itself. Yet the task is by no means an easy one and as Prof. Radhakrisnan says 'the riddle of the rope is the riddle of the universe.' Why does the rope appear as a snake is the question that school-boys raise and philosophers fail to answer. The relation between Brahman can be neither external (Samyoga) nor internal (Samavāya). The relation of the finite world to the infinite spirit is a mystery for human understanding. Shall we then agree with Goethe when he said "That man is not born to solve the problems of the universe" or with Pringle Pathison when he recognises "That there are regions which we cannot penetrate and wise agnosticism is the only rational attitude."

Samkara admits as much as they that life is more than logic—thought cannot solve all the problems; yet he recognises the intuitive grasp of reality (anubhava). In the highest moments of poetry and religion, a man rises above his littleness and limitation and realizes the reality and purpose of life. In the immediate consciousness of the Infinite all questions are answered and perplexities stilled.

CHAPTER V

Concluding Remarks

From what has been said in the preceding pages, it will appear that the central theme of the Vedānta is the realization of the ultimate truth. This ultimate truth, be it posited in the name of the Absolute of philosophy or the God of Religion cannot be known within the narrow limits of the laws of thought. In this aspect Vedānta is a discipline. It is a training for the realization of what is real. In its theoretical aspect Vedānta establishes the unity of Being, a theory of rigorous monism; in its practical aspect it seeks to realize it. This vision of spiritual Oneness through all beings and things and the best intuitive vision of this Oneness in completeness and by itself are the soul of Vedāntic thought and culture. In its emphasis on the transcendence of thought and its preference of immediate experiences of the regenerate to the rigorous canons of logic Vedānta is more akin to mysticism than rational religion for it is in the last resort 'an art of union with Reality.' It has been pointed out that the rejection of the world of Space, Time and Causality, as illusory, kills ethics and stifles religion; that the featureless Absolute of Vedānta cannot kindle religious devotion, nor can it inspire moral activity. It has been amply shown in the foregoing pages that a criticism of this sort only exhibits a misconception and a lack of correct appreciation of Vedāntic thought and culture. It may be reiterated again that the empirical order with all its wealth of existence, has got a place and meaning, perhaps a value in Saṅkara's system and Saṅkara and other Vedāntists lay it down as a clear line of progress and evolution in this path, until one has reached liberation and freedom. It has been laid down that Māyā is not absolutely unreal, nor is it absolutely real. It has an existence midway between complete falsehood and positive reality. The essence of this doctrine is to emphasize

upon our mind the ephemeral character of the empirical order, in order that we may centre our efforts at a higher realization the realization of the Spiritual. At the same time the world with its conditions of space, time and causality is not absolutely false, for if it were so our very effort to rise above it, would be meaningless. The joys of life, the onward strivings of the soul in the course of evolution would be all set at nought. In this way nothing to the Vedāntist is insignificant, as all existence points to the ultimate reality of Brahman as its basis. Herein a meaning is found for love, devotion and active service as distinctly helping us onward to the understanding of truth. The Vedāntin accepts all these. Yet there is something that still beckons him on from beyond. The intellectual sympathy with the immanent life leads on to the intuitive apprehension of the transcendental Identity of Being. In the course of progressive realization the adept craves for the closest union with the ultimate reality and when the ideal is realized, he forgets himself and loses his personality in the ever permanent impersonal background. Then verily does he see that 'to lose one's self is to find it'. To attempt to describe such a state of immediate awareness of God, is to declare the bankruptcy of thought and language. But it must however be borne in mind that it is reality, though it may not be comprehended by thought; it can still be realised by artistic insight and psychological opening. And if it be true that 'No Newton was ever born to explain a blade of grass,' it would be more correct to confess that thought is incapable of apprehending the ultimate verities of life and existence.

Vedāntism is a form of noble enthusiasm and a religious discipline to feel the all-pervasiveness of peace, so that we may get peace in life and peace in death, finally passing into peace itself—the Nirvanic calm of existence.

As a faith of the people Vedāntism has a bright future before it. The Identity of all being seeks to demolish the

narrow walls of communal and racial discrimination that is the cause of so much misery to mankind. The emphasis on the transcendence of our limited existence inspires us to rise above the petty jealousies and quarrels that confront us in our everyday life and to realize that beyond this material existence, there is a spiritual life more real and abiding. If the ethics of Vedānta be ascetic in character as has been pointed by certain critics; shall we not say with Bishop Butler "a little overplus of asceticism in everyday life tends towards harmony and sweetness." And above all one fails to understand, how the attainment of Vedāntic knowledge, should tend to make a man cease performing good actions; if it really does anything, it simply destroys the influence of sordid self-seeking motives and thereby leaves the wise man freer to pursue his beneficent avocations than an ordinary man.

The Vedāntic Acāryas went so far as to say that the wise man can even engage himself in governing a Kingdom.

तदित्यं तत्त्वविज्ञाने साधनानुपमर्दतः
ज्ञानिनाचरित्युं शक्यं सम्यग्राज्यादिलौकिकम् ॥
(पञ्चदशी)

SECTION III
SANSKRIT

*KOLHAPUR SPURIOUS COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION
OF SATYĀŚRAYA VINAYĀDITYA (SAKA 520)

By

PANDIT RAGHUVARA MITTHULAL SHASTRI
M.A., M.O.L.

Sāhityāchārya, Shāstri, Kāryatīrtha, Vedāntatīrtha
Lecturer in Sanskrit



Seal of the Kolhapur Spurious Copper-plate Inscription
of Satyāśraya Vinayāditya, Śaka 520

*The discussion on this inscription is reserved for the next volume of the A. U. Studies. Only the transcription appears in the following pages.

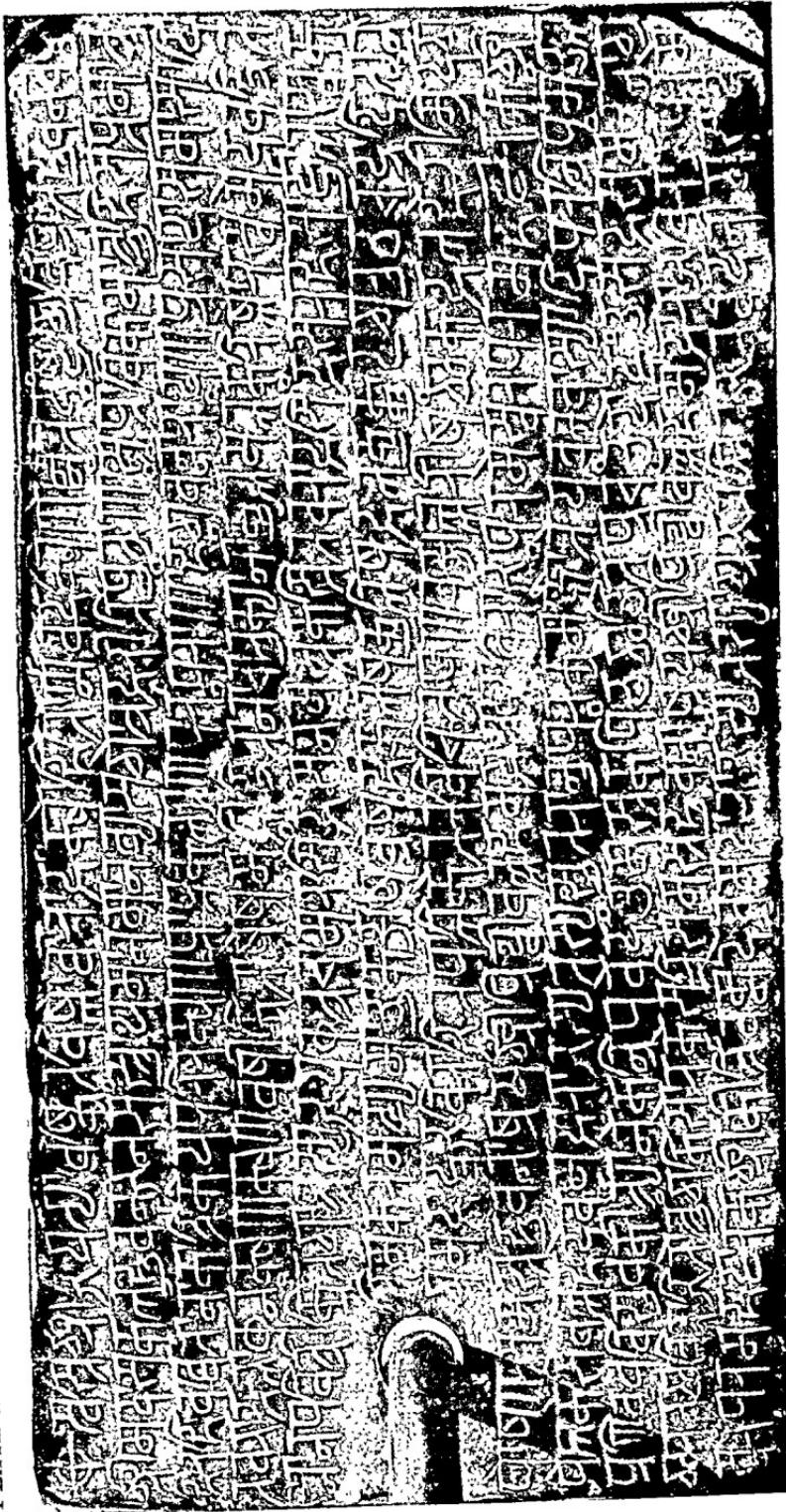


PLATE I

TRANSCRIPTION

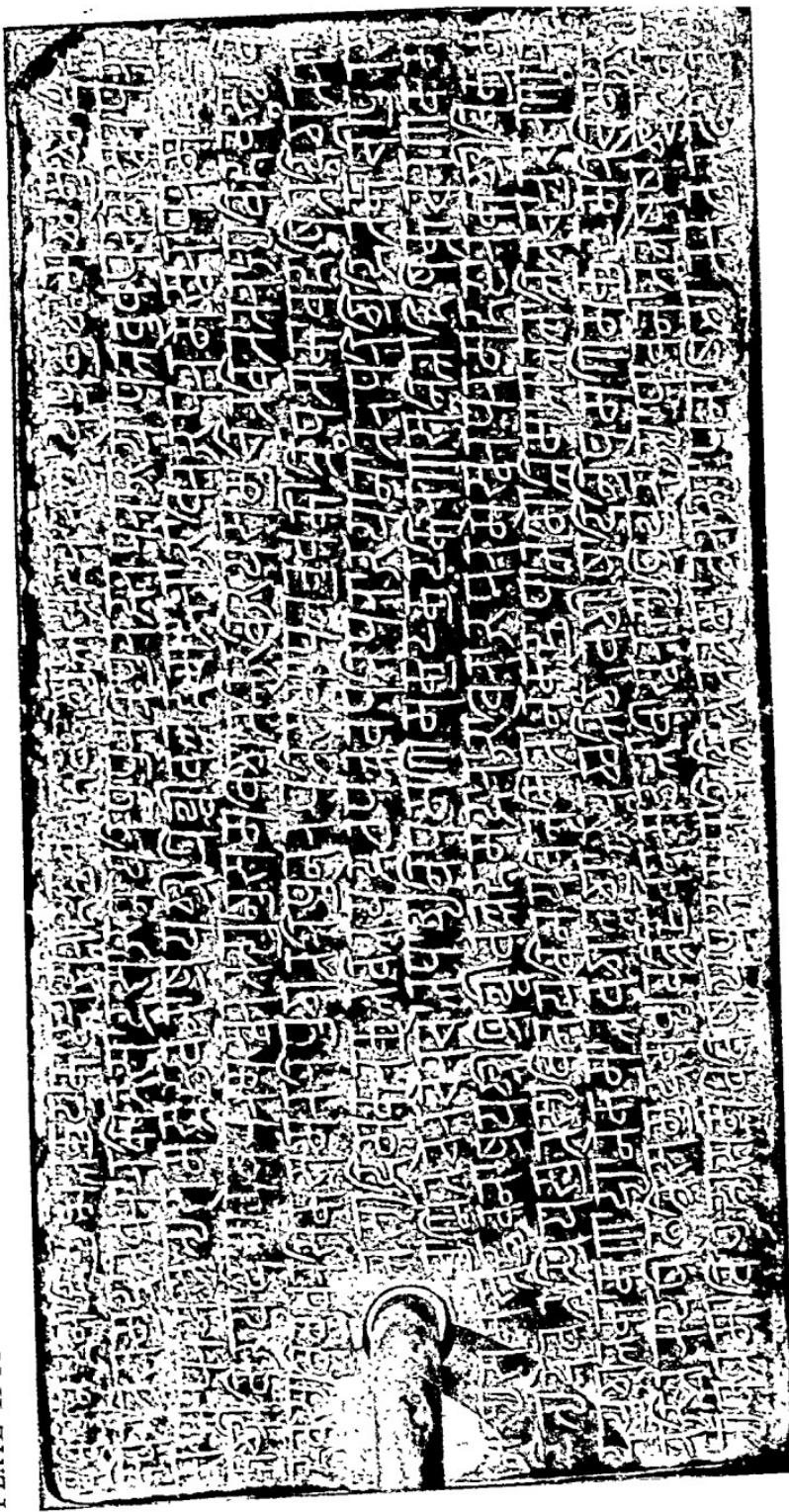
(Plate I)

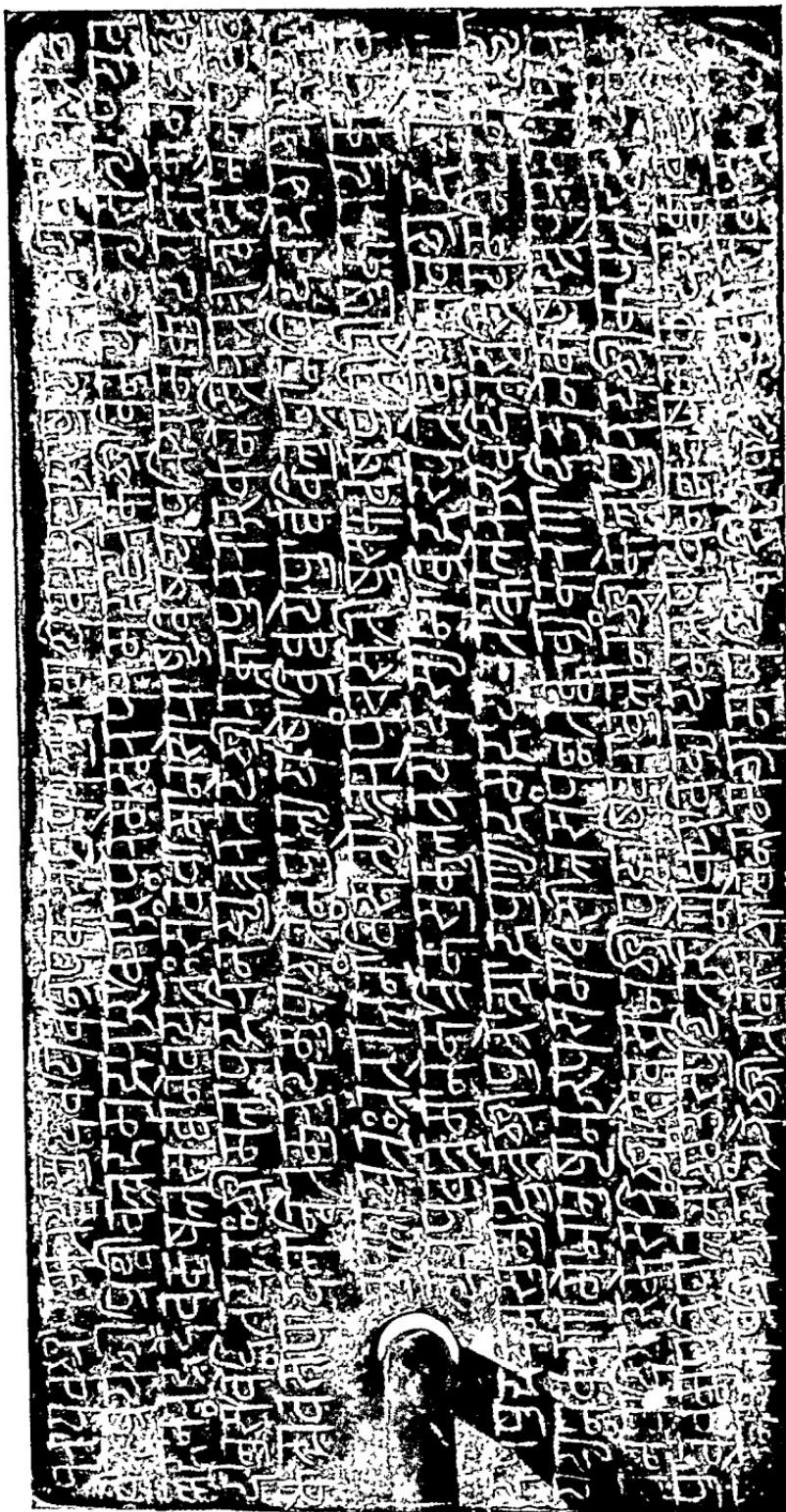
- (Line 1) - (+)- स्वस्ति श्री जयत्याविजिकं चिठ्ठोऽवाराहं क्षेमिताण्नं व द्विषणोन्नतदं द्वाग्विपूत्तमुवनं वषु ।
- (L. 2) श्रीमदा सकलभुवनजनसंस्तयमानमानवयासगोत्रहरीतिपुत्राणां सप्तांविकासात्रुभि सप्तमात्र
- (L. 3) भिरभिवहिंतानां कातिंकेयपरिक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवंत्तारायणप्रसादा सप्तमात्रादि
- (L. 4) तवराहलाङ्कपणवयणवपीक्रितायेषमहीनितानां चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणोरस्वसेदवभित्त
- (L. 5) स्नानपवित्रीक्रितगात्रस्य जयचत्रचामरसिंहसरभसादुलास्वक
- (L. 6) रिमकरमस्तमाहुकमषष्ठिप्रभकलपकुलिषहलकुकुटगहलब्रदादित्यना
- (L. 7) गमहाद्वजविराजितपालिकेतनविचित्रकणवकहलहरीयंवकहलभेरीचिंदग
- (L. 8) चोपणसमस्तभुवनापूयश्रीप्रियवीवलभमहाराजाधिराजपरमभद्राकश्री
- (L. 9) पोलेकेसिवलभद्रेवमहाराजस्थ तस्य सुतरानु पराक्रमाकोतेयवनवास्यादिपरन्तुपम्बल
- (L. 10) प्रणिवधविशुधकीत्यर्णेनिपत्वे दंडमस्तकपिंडवंडितप्रचंडदोहं इसहस्तमंडलाय
- (L. 11) खरनखविराजितोत्तंगकिसोरकेसरि समस्तभुवनापूयश्रीप्रियवीवलभमहाराजाधिराजपरमे
- (L. 12) स्वरपरमभद्राकश्रीकीर्तिवस्मैदेवमहाराजस्य तस्याग्रजनखिलजनवंदनीयसंदरा

(Plate II.—First Side)

- (L. 13) रविदनाभनाभिकृमलकुटीकोटरसंभमुवनभवनमूलसंभराजसुप्रमुखमध्यमुदादिदी
- (L. 14) किषतत्रिसमुद्रांतधरारनितसाहसंजनेयरिपुपुरन्निपुरहरपराजयोपलुधपरमेस्वरपर
- (L. 15) माणां परमस्तुत्यसमस्तमुवनापूयश्रीप्रियवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरपरमभद्वा
र
- (L. 16) कशीविजयादित्यदेवपरमेस्वर तत्सूनु समधिगतनिजविजयस्मुचितविततराज्यविभवस्य वि
- (L. 17) भवस्य विवुपरसिकसमररिपुरपतिस्मोपलुधकीर्तिपताकावभाषितदिंगतरा
- (L. 18) लस्य हिमकर्कुलविलयहेतुपलुधपतिपराजयतानंतरपरिफिहितकांधीपुरसं
- (L. 19) चूणिनंतचेरचेरबोलपाळयन्निपमणिकुटकटकिरणसनिलाभिषिक्तकरणकम
- (L. 20) लस्य समस्तमुवनापूयश्रीप्रियवल्लभमहाराजपरमेस्वरपरमभद्वा
रकशीविक्रमा
- (L. 21) दित्यदेव ततिप्रथमुत्तस्य विनयविनयविनमितानेकमूपालमौलिमालालालितचारुचरणारविं
- (L. 22) दयुगल कांकणाद्यानेकमालवगोललगड़जरखलिंगदेवीपादित्रिपमणिमकुटमरिचिमंजरी
- (L. 23) रंजितपादपीठ त्रिसमुद्रमध्यवत्तिमुवनमंडलाधीस्वरस्य प्रियुराजयोपा वनीतलयेपलवेतानिव
- (L. 24) त्यं फलमाविट्टेभ्य समधिविषयप्रसमनादिहिततत्रमात्रराज्योपनां षिंत्यांतरहुलत्वदेतिवद्

PLATE II A



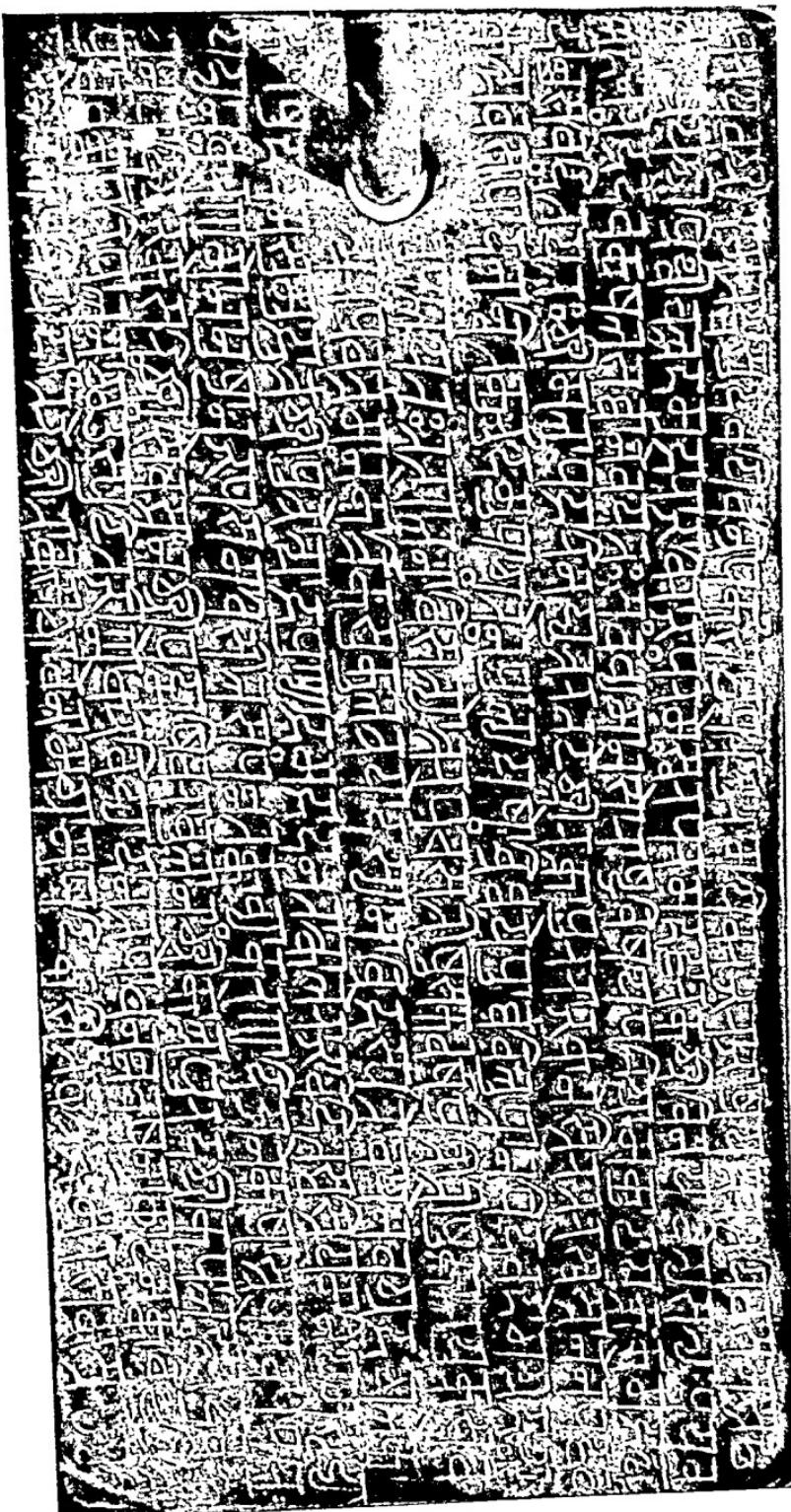


(Plate II.—Second Side)

- (L. 25) धर पिव श्रीरामतद्वाउदेव पिव निपकंसाहृ परसुराम पिव राजराजापूय भरत पिव समस्तम्
- (L. 26) वनापूयश्रीप्रियवृच्छमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभैरकश्रीविनयादित्यस्त्वाप्रयव
- (L. 27) ललभनरेद्देव कुपल सञ्चरोनेव यतःलेवंध्यमानसौराष्ट्रविषयपतिशामकृत्युत्कमहत्व
- (L. 28) दीनु संविदित यतः श्रीमलापहारिनद्युतरतटे श्रीरकापुरराजधाने स्तिरतस्त्वस्तानेन पहवं
- (L. 29) घोत्सवसंपादनान्वितकर्तुदमपुगतेन पूल्ययपेणित्युद्ये पूर्वविलुप्तानपि देवभोगप्रहारा
- (L. 30) नुपालयतः तत्पालनां विस्त्योत्तरपंचसतीपु सकवर्पंप्रतीतीपु कालयुक्तसंबंध
- (L. 31) द्वसर प्रवर्तमाने कार्तिंकसुकुलञ्जयोदस्थानां द्विहस्पतो वारे नवग्रहंगलेका
- (L. 32) दपपुभदिन सुमुहूर्तं ओपुत्रोत्साहपुण्याहमहादानतात्काले राजविदितस्त्वस्तियमनियमस्वाद्या
- (L. 33) यद्यानधारणमोनानुपानजपसमाप्यसीलसंपत्ततकर्त्याकरणादिक्रतेकपालपारवारपार
- (L. 34) गानां वादिगजकेसरिक्रीसैवस्तानश्रीपद्मपिवराबुलानांश्रीकोललापुरदश्रीकपालेस्वरदेवर
- (L. 35) पूर्वव्यर्थमपतिपालनां शंडस्पुटितजीणोधारविद्यादानतपोथनत्वपत्ताद्वादनकं विहविति
- (L. 36) एडेनाडुस्तप्रियायंतरे श्रीतावस्थावे नाम ग्राम घटिकासितख्वचामरसमस्तराज्यचि

(Plate III)

- (L. 37) हृत्रिभोग [रङ्ग] चंतरसापनमसेत श्रीस्वयंभुकपालेस्वरदेवराचार्यपद्मधिवराबुलन पादप्रक्षण
- (L. 38) लृपनं धारा [पू] भर्वकं सठबैमसीमांतरे तस्य योषान्यदिषो भागे मनतगे ना
- (L. 39) म ग्राम तत्परिच्वमतः क्रिठणपाषाणगुतिप्रमाण । तद्विषणतः पाषाणगुतिप्रमाणं । तस्यान्नेयतः
- (L. 40) गिरियुतंगप्रमाण । तद्विषणतः हेरिलगे नाम ग्राम तदुत्तरतः गिरिदविषणकंथरप्रमाणं । त
- (L. 41) स्य नैरित्यदिषो भागे वरगावे नाम ग्राम तदुत्तरतः भगवती देविय इक्षिषणदिषो भगदक्रिठणप्रमाण
- (L. 42) यापुंजप्रमाण । तस्य नैरित्यदिषो भागे नागावे नाम ग्राम तस्य योषान्यदिषो भागे त्रिप्राम
- (L. 43) सीमासंधिगिरियपञ्चिमकंथरप्रमाण । तस्य बायठयदिषो भागे टोटिव नाम ग्राम तत्पु
- (L. 44) वैतः पाषाणगुतिप्रमाण । तदुत्तरतः हरिणगुतिप्रमाण । तदुत्तरतः मदनगुतिप्रमा
- (L. 45) ण तदुत्तरतः त्रिग्रामसंधिक्रिठणपाषाणपुंजप्रमाण । तस्य योषान्यदिषो भागे वलगावे नाम ग्राम त
- (L. 46) द्विषणतः अचाल्यचेलेप्रमाण । तद्पूर्वतः कनिष्ठस्तात्संगमप्रमाण । तद्पूर्वतः क्रिठणप्रमाण
- (L. 47) प्रप्रमाण । तद्पूर्वतः त्रिग्रामसंधिपूलीगुतिप्रमाण ॥ एवं अष्टाघाटोपलक्षितं भूमिप्रमाण । जलपा
- (L. 48) पाणविम्मिमोन(?)द्वयसहस्रं ॥ स्वदत्तं परदत्तं वा यो हरेति वसुन्धरा: यस्मिवैष्वसहस्राणि विद्यायां जायते क्षि
- (L. 49) मि ॥ श्रीचालक्ष्मान्वसंजाता श्रीसत्तासुर्यदेव तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि रामभृ उलिख्यते श्री श्री ○



SECTION IV
URDU

DIVĀN QĀZI MAHMUD BAHRI OF GOGI

Translated and Edited

BY

DR. M. HAFIZ SYED, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.

University of Allahabad

دیوان قاضی ماتھوڈ بکڑی ساکن گوگی

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحيم

(غزل نمبر ۱)

اے جو تجھے تے جلوہ گر یو جیو ہور یو تن ہوا
تن ہوا جنوں جیو کوں یوں جیو تجھے درپن ہوا
جیو کو ماٹی میں سٹ اس من کو نیچایا سوتونچھے
آد مردت پرودش پانے کوں من معدن ہوا
تن کو کو اس من میں من ہونا یکایک مفت نیں
جیو اپنے جیو کے جینے کوں انن تبا تمام
من نہ تبا لک جیو کے جینے کوں انن تبا تمام
جیو کے انکیاں کوں اے من میت من آنجن ہوا
یعنی اپنے پرسوں دیکھیا اپنے پیتم کے تین
یو اسے دولا پیتا ہور او اسے دولن ہوا
تون تیرا شاہد سو او باقی ہے سو کسوٹ سنتاں
گہ سُنا کہ سنبل گہ کوڑ گہ گلشن ہوا
اب جھکچھے سو نہ ماٹی ہے نہ من ہے نہ پران
تبا امانت نگ سو اپنے وقت پر اپنی ہوا
گرچھے دوست کے بدل دوئے ہیں ہر گہر کے لوگ
پیو کا دیدار منجھوں پیو کا درسن ہوا
آج کل می معرفت پہنچے کوں اے بھری تجھے
یوچ من ساقی پیتا ہور یوچ تن برتن ہوا

(غزل نمبر ۲)

چے میہ ہے آنتاب اجلا سو او ترا
مستک پنم کے چاند سوں ہلا سو او ترا

جے نل خطا کے مشک سے اٹ راہتا ہے دشک
لب شہد تے آدک ہے دسالا سو او ترا
اس موکھ کون نہ موکھ، نہ اس خط کون خط کھوں
جس چاند کون ہیشہ ہے هلا سو او ترا
یک زلف ہوڑ ہزار کنڈاں سو ہے تجھے
یک چک ہوڑ اس میں لاک ہے چالا سو او ترا
جس جگ اُجال من جو کھیں سو ترا ہے دخ
جس لئ کے نانوں ناگ بسالا سو او ترا
جس قد کے پاس یوں اچھی بے قدر نیشور
جنوں نیشور سود تثلا سو او ترا
بحری ترا تو ہے پہ منگے سوگ کا لباس
جس تن پہ درد دکھ ہے دوشala سو او ترا

(غزل نمبر ۳)

اب دل پہ یہی ہے جو دکھن چھوڑ نہ جانا
جو تے یو دکھن، کھن کے دن چھوڑ نہ جانا
یو گن بھری دلبر، یو نظر باز، یو مجلس
یو پھول، یو بلبل، یو چمن چھوڑ نہ جانا
جی دوست جو ہے جوت ہو دیدے کون دکھن کی
سو یوں کھیں ہر دم جو ہم چھوڑ نہ جانا
گر کوئی بخشنا ہے بلاکر، ارم انعام
بلبل کے اچھے من میں، جو بن چھوڑ نہ جانا
ست کھن نہ کہ جنوں لال ہر یک ملک پہ بھکنا
جنوں سور گن، یعنی وطن چھوڑ نہ جانا
تقدير کھاں کھینچ لجاگی سو نہ جانو
پن جیو کے گللوٹ جو تن چھوڑ نہ جانا
بحری کون دکھن یوں ہے کہ جنوں نل کون دمن ہے
پس نل کون ہے لازم جو دمن چھوڑ نہ جانا

(غزل نمبر ۳)

دھنوند گر کوئے تو کہو کس سوں بولنا
 نیں دوستی دھرے تو کہو کس سوں بولنا
 پیتا ہے مل شراب دقباں سوں دات دن
 گر مختصب درے تو کہو کس سوں بولنا
 یک دو گپتی جو کوب کیا کچھ عجج نہیں
 سب عمر یوں سری تو کہو کس سوں بولنا
 ہے شکر سو ہزار جو چک سوں چلیا ہے نیرو
 نہ کی لکے جپتی تو کہو کس سوں بولنا
 اس عشق کے دکال میں بھری اپس کے دوکھ
 انصاف سوں ہرے تو کہو کس سوں بولنا

(غزل نمبر ۵)

محمد گر مدد ہوگا ہمارا سکل دکھ درد دد ہوگا ہمارا
 اگر صحراء ہو مل، دام، ہور، دد او سارا دام و دد ہوگا ہمارا
 اگر عالم سکل آکا عدو ہو او اللہ الصد ہوگا ہمارا
 کرم اس کا دس آکا کم ہو ہرگاہ اگر کولا آسد ہوگا ہمارا
 موحد کا معناً کیوں محسوس
 او احمد گر آحد ہوگا ہمارا

(غزل نمبر ۶)

جب دکھ ترا اے من مہن مجھے جیو پر کاری ہوا
 تب مرگ مجھے ہلکا دسیا ہوں جیونا پیاری ہوا
 کانٹیاں پہ پھاکر کینچنا بہتر دسیا آے بے وفا
 جب دکھ ترا مجھے جیو کے جامے کوں بہواری ہوا
 مسے پیونا لے کر منجھے مطالب ہے اس پیغدار میں
 دے گا نہ دے گا کیوں کہوں بالم تو پیغداری ہوا
 ہاں اے زلیخا شکر کر او زلف کانٹوی ترا
 اس عشق کی سنتکوں سیدھے جنوں مشک تاثاری ہوا

بھری اشارت نہیں دوا رکھتا جو تھا اس عشق میں
اس شاعروں کا طرز لے آب ان پے تکراری ہوا

(غزل نمبر ۷)

تبھے مکھ کے مقابل تو نہ هرگز چن آگا
تبھے نہیں برابر نہ ختن کا ہرن آگا
دھن مشک سی ڈلغان کی بہا میں نہ دکھن لے
کیا یک یو دکھن بلکہ خطا ہو دختن آگا
نہیں مال مویشی منجھ، محتاج ہوں مطلق
گر گھر کوں میرے او جو دھن آگا تو دھن آگا
بھری توں بہشتی ہو نہ دا باج طہورا
گلزار میں تیرے اگر او گلبدن آگا

(غزل نمبر ۸)

کیوں کیتے منجھ بالکا دھن اس کھپالے بال کا
میں ہوں عاشق عاشقی کوں کیا بُدھا کیا بالکا
داں بن آیا تو مل بیٹھے ہیں پوچھیں گے سو کیا
یاں کے بھت شکر کوں سست گر مانگتے ہیں فال کا
پوچھتا جگ منجھ کوں توں عاشق ہو کیتے دن ہوئے
جگ اگر پوچھے تو کوں کاں یاد دن ہو د سال کا
جیو لے گڑھے کہے تو لب شکر یوں بولتے
نسٹ کر کیوں دیوں میں یو مال ہے بقال کا
دیکھ کر داتاں کوں منجھ تیری گلی میں چپا (ھے)
بہوتکر میرے نمن ہے کیں لکن گٹوال کا
غم سوں تیرے اے پیٹی دوتا ہے بھری یوں مدام
گر مرے گا تو نہ پڑیے کام کچھ غسال کا

(غزل نمبر ۹)

منجھ اس مکتب مجاجی میں جو عشق استاد نا ہوتا
تو میرے دل سوں کثرت کا سبق برباد نا ہوتا

چنچل چک چپور میں تیرے، مدرس پاس مکتب میں
نہ ابجد کی پئی پڑتا جو اس میں صاد نا ہوتا
منجھ اوپر تو تھی کچھ منت شما کے بیلداراں کی
عمارت عمر کا میرا جو بے بنیاد نا ہوتا
مہن کے من کی سختی کا جو مفسون بولنے منکتا
تو مشکل منجھ پہ یہ ہوتا اگر پولاد نا ہوتا
چکچھ اس ٹیار پر سوسیا سوسوب بہتر کیا بھتری
اگر فریاد تون کرتا تو تیرا داد نا ہوتا

(غزل نمبر ۱۰)

پیٹھا ہے لب پہ تبی یو طلب جنون کہ تل مرا
پیٹھا ہے نین میں نیرو پتلی ہو دل مرا
گوڑے ترسے جو دنگ پہ عاشق ہوں کیا عجب
دوئی کے مول گر جو بگاوے کتیل مرا
املا اب و گل کوں نکالے ہیں منجھ سوں، حیف!
پھر منجھ ہوا حجاب بھی اب د گل مرا
تجھے دل میں جے بسی، سوہے منجھ دل کو آگئی
سوکیا کہ دل سوں ہے ترسے دل متکل مرا
میریچھے بول سر پہ میرے لیانے ہیں بلا
جانو سینے اپر میرے پڑیا یو سل مرا
بھری او خوش تباہ بچن بولنا گیا
یو بتپنا نے طبع کیا مفسح مرا

(غزل نمبر ۱۱)

مرے سینے کوں سانپاں کا پتاڑا
لے دونوں دل میں بنتا ہوں دو تارا
کہ یو سیویاں نن چارا ہسارا
ترے قد کن جو ہے سیدا ستارا
سکندر عشق کا کے لاک دارا
کیا ہے ڈلف او زیبا نکلڑا
کمر کا تار، ہوں یک ڈلف کا تار
سنبلے لٹ کے دکھلکر ترا مت
میرا دل دورتا جدول قلم ہو
ستیا ہے ڈلف کے ظلمات میں مار

(غزل نمبر ۱۲)

بک سکتہ نکتہ داں کوں ہے کافی شناس کا آئے قصہ خواں نہ بول حکایت قیاس کا
اس میں میں عندلیب پہ مالی سبب ہے (وس) ان توزنا ہے بھول، او عاشق ہے بس کا
کاں بن، کھاں ہے بھول، کھاں بس، کاں ہوا؟ اس تھور کوں لکھا ہے سدا فکر گھاس کا
نور دیکھے تد تو آدی نان ہے نیک! کیا وقت ہوئے آگ کے اوپر بکاس کا
بحری نہ بول حال توکل خدا پہ دھر
سلطان کنے سکت نہیں کہنے کوں داس کا

(غزل نمبر ۱۳)

بولتے دلبڑ برسے پن دل دیاں کوں پوچھنا تائخ ہے افیون، ولے افیونیاں کوں پوچھنا
جیو کیا جن کوں سو یوجگ ڈھندے کیا جانتے پوچھنا ان کوں سو جا ننسنایاں کوں پوچھنا
نور کا نرودا گر دین گے سو سچھے یو خاکیاں سور کا منکور جا افلاتکیاں کوں پوچھنا
راز بے ہوشی کے، بیہوشان کے خارج کن کہے بیہید اس بنتگاب کے بنتگایاں کوں پوچھنا
سایش کا سکے، بن دٹے اس سایپاں کے مسکن نہیں حالت اس فردوسیاں کوں پوچھنا
اس فنا میں چے بقا کا بھید ہے سو بھریا
جیوتے مرگے سو جا اس مر جیاں کوں پوچھنا

(غزل نمبر ۱۴)

مدت ہے اس مہن سیتی، نین مجھے درس ہوا
یک پل منجھے فراق سوں یک لک برس ہوا
ات پیار سوں او نار بلائی تھی منجھے ملن
کن کیا کیا دیکب کہ او وصل پس ہوا
منجھے چھور تل گھڑی جو نہ رہتے آئھے سو اس
طوطی بے قرار کوں کس کا قفس ہوا
کن ناگ ہو دھیا ہے امانت کے گنج پر
کن اس جمالیت کے نتر کا ادرس ہوا
اُس گلستان ناز پہ مالی ہوا ہے کن
اُس پھول ڈال سات کنہ ہم نفس ہوا
بر عکس کیوں ہوا ہے زمانے کے پھیر میں
حیران ہے کوئی، دکھ میں کسے دست دس ہوا

بھری گزد آفال توں، اس دھن کے دھیان تے
جس دیکھنا جو بو الہو سان کون ہوس ہوا

(غزل نمبر ۱۵)

جنوں چن کے دیکھ ببل خوش ہوا
یوں ہوس لے دل پہ دیراں باغ کی
اوہ قانع پیول کے یک بارس پر
چال ایس کی نہ یک کون آئے گی
ہاں ارے تقیید سوں ہو دود بیگ
آہ اس بیوک پہ سو افسوس ہے
ملکہ اچہ ہر حال میں بھری ارے
نرم سوں جنوں موم سختی سوں لودا

(غزل نمبر ۱۶)

گیا یوں منجھوں ست او شاہ والا
چن مانند میں کیوں سُک نہ جانا
جو ہوے باغ ست مالی نوالا
وگر نین پام نایک کا ہے پالا
نہ بستی میں ملے دانا نہ پانی
لکایا باو پہنکنے آدمی کون
جو نئے کبرتے سو سادے پیات کرکے
نہ بھری چور سی شہ کے قدم کون
ہے جب لگ جگ میں سورج کا اجلا

(غزل نمبر ۱۷)

جنوں جسے دیکھا ہے تیوں را کیا ہے اس پر غم سو کیا
یک کون شہ کیتا، یکن کون مات، اسے ماتم سو کیا
آنچھو، یا آک کے پیل پروڈش یک آپ کے
بولتے بغیر آدک ہوڑ کم، آدک ہوڑ کم سو کیا
جس کہیں مطلق علیم، ان علم کون اپنے بکیر
کیل باندیا پر منجھے مت پوچھ، یو عالم سو کیا

دیکھنا تبا جگ کوں گر یک جام وحدت کا جمال
 جام میں جگ کی خبر پایا، جو کہتے جم، سو کیا
 بول دم، اس بول پر قائم ہو رہنا سو قدم
 نیں تو تم بواو، قدم کس بولتے ہو دم سو کیا
 برا کا دکھ دکھ تو ہے پن سکھ ہے سارا اے سجان
 یوں جو یو پیورا اچھے، پس اس کے تین مرہم سو کیا
 راہ اے بھری دل اپنا خوش یہی ہے بندگی
 توں اسے کرتا ہے ہر یک بات پر بڑھم سو کیا

(غزل نمبر ۱۸)

دهن دل سوں منجھے توں کاڑنا نا لایا آپے جھاڑ، اکھڑنا نا
 لڑنا تو ہمیں تین آکیلے لیا ڈلف کوں موں په پاڑنا نا
 باقان په دُتن کے اے دلارام پردے کوں ہوت کے پھاڑنا نا
 برتن کے نس نہے من همارا پھترے په ستم پچھاڑنا نا
 تیری خوشی منجھے سوں توڑ یا جوڑ
 بھری سوں تو توں بکارنا نا

(غزل نمبر ۱۹)

باز، ایک اُس پہلدار کے، مکھ پر سوں، آنچھل تھل گیا
 مکھ دیکھنے کا بل ہوا، اس بل په میں بل بل گیا
 ہارا نہ تھا بل عشق کی بازی میں منجھے ہار آپتی
 آب کھیل کھیلوں؟، کیتک، شک دل په تھا سو ٹل گیا
 کیوں جائے گا منجھے جیوتے یو جاج جیتے ہی تلک
 یو عشق ایسا کچھ نہوے جو آج آیا، کل گیا
 دندال کی صاف میں نیں دوا، دونا دیا کا اس دوہش
 جو جل ابل بھاد آگیا، بہ نین سوں کا جل گیا
 منجھے دل جھیل میں جمع گر توں کی، سوسن سب خوش ہوئے
 پن جیو میں اپنے (قیب)، اس بات اوپر جل گیا
 بڑے میں برا کی آبرو بھری اسے کچھ ہوئے گی
 ہادے میں اپنے دھن کے جن ہولی کے نئے گل گیا

(غزل نمبر ۲۰)

نوى بھاد، نوى بلبلان، نوى پلڈال
 یو کار بار نوا کیا ہوا جو چور چلیا۔
 نے کوئی کچھ کے آگے نہ کوئی کچھ پیچھے
 تو سب طرف سوں جو یکبار مک مردوز چلیا
 نے شب پرک ہوں جو شرمون کنوں نمن ہوں نول
 توں آنتاب سے مک پر سب جو اور چلیا
 نہ بات صاف، نہ دن سعد، کس لئے اے ٹل
 توں چلو کے اپر اپس کے کبیل ہوڑ چلیا
 مگر توں آج برا چانتا ہے بھری کا
 جو یوں جھنگ ایسے جمدر کمر کوں جوڑ چلیا

(غزل نمبر ۲۱)

یک سو کیا دو پتے مروے در پے یک تو یو تاپ دوسرا جازا
 یک یو دھرتا ہے تاد دوزخ کا دوسرا زمہریو کا نازا
 یو تو پیسیا ہے منیج کوں جنوں دارو اد تو اوئائیا ہے جنوں کارا
 کوئی دارو نہ ان کے بیچ میں آے کوئی منتر نہ ہو سکے آڑا
 جیونا ہوئے گا سو کیوں بواو میں تو پتلا ہوں بیوت او گاڑا
 بللاتا ہوں دات دن میں یوں جو ہوا ہے بہ تنگ سب باڑا
 لوگ گھر کے نہ دیپھے سک یو حال چور گھر جا بسانے پچھوڑا
 یوں لکیا ہے یو درد بھری کوں جنوں کے کانٹی کے تین پکارا

(غزل نمبر ۲۲)

یک توں نہیں کیا کام جو سب ہے یا دب
 سب کیا تو، اور نہیں توں (دب ہے) یا (دب
 میں آد ہوں آدم سوں لکانا سو سب کیا
 لاگیا جو میرا تجھے سوں نسب ہے، یا دب
 دکھیا کوں کسی زلف کی شب کیا کہ قرارے
 نخشب کے اگر لفڑا میں شب ہے، یارب

دیا غم یو عجم سب مل اگر منجھ سوں پھرے تو
منجھے سر او جو سلطان عرب ہے، یا دب
وہ جان اچھولیا منجھ سوں ملا عشق ہے میرا
عاشق میں جو معشوق کی چھب ہے، یا دب
دریا تو کہاں کا کوئی دیکھیا نہیں، یہ کیا?
محسود کوں بھری جو لقب ہے، یا دب

(غزل نمبر ۲۳)

کیا کروں کس سوں جا کھوں یو بات
میں میرے ہات سوں گیا ہیہات
میں ہوں منجھے حق میں جی کیا ہوں گھات
آپ نے رات کوں کٹھے سب دیس
میں میرے دیس کو کیا ہوں رات
یعنی نا کچھ نماز نا دوزہ
کھاؤنا، پیونا، تو نامشورع
میں گنہکار ہوں بڑا اے دوست
میں تو سینسار کے سد میں ڈیبا
شینخ عالم محمد باقر
ان اگر کچھ نظر کوم کی کیا
تو ہوا شاہ نیں تو بیشک مات
نائزون اس کے عبٹ رکھیا ہوں نکات
یک بچن ہوں ہزار بیڑاہی
بول بانکا ہے گچھ بھری کا
پر او سیدا ہے آے سجن۔ تجھ سات

(غزل نمبر ۲۴)

چاند کوں دیکھے پہ جھلکاراں ترے آتے ہیں یاد
دیکھ کر تارے پرستاراں ترے آتے ہیں یاد
گھر منجھے سد گھور ہو دستا ہے اے دھن جس گھڑی
سامنے مندھر کے گلزاراں ترے آتے ہیں یاد
شک کر اس لوکاں کوں نیں، پہکتا ہوں شکر کیا کھوں
جب جو منجھے شکر سے گفتاراں ترے آتے ہیں یاد

بولتا ہوں جب جو میں مل بینے بھری سوں تمام
بات کے طرز اُن او تکراں تو تے آتے ہیں یاد

(غزل نمبر ۲۵)

دلبر اُن کا اپس کوں داس نہ کر
داس ہونا تو دل اداں نہ کر
سوت کانٹے کوں پھر کپاس نہ کر
لٹ کوں لٹ پٹ ہو دخ پہ دیج نکو
دیکھ اپس دکھ کی التناس نہ کر
بوالہرس بلبل نن ہو بن
یعنی یک ٹھار یک یقین سوں اچھے
گر جو دل جل دھنواں اس اس میں نہیں
تو کبودی عہد لباس نہ کر
توڑ اپس کا حجاب اے بھری
ملک میں من کے اس مواس نہ کر

(غزل نمبر ۲۶)

کہ چل دیوے مکھی چودی ہلے پر
طلب ہونا ہے شکر کے تالے پر
سمجھ دھیا ہوں میں پر ہوں پلے پر
نہ هلنے لٹ کوں دے تل ہے گلے پر
کہ کالا ہوئے سچھے ہو شے جلے پر
نکو دکھ ہات توں جلتے نلے پر
یو کثرت اس کی آت گت ولولے پر
کہ جنوں چاند وحدت کے کلے پر
تیز اس رہ میں اے بھری دو انیں
نظر یک دکھ برسے پر ہوں پلے پر

(غزل نمبر ۲۷)

جب کم کامل ہوا، یعنی کوم منجھ پیر کا
سعی کی لاکر سرہی یک پل میں میں لیتا پکڑ
دیکھتا ہوں تو ہے تارا پادشاہ کا اسے
بہوت عاجز کے کیا تسلی پادشہ کے پگ پہ پڑ
گر پروا پوجھے تو منجھوں شہ مرا کچھ نہیں جدا
کیا ہوا بینا ہے جا منجھ سیس کے اپال چڑ

پن تون آیا یاں تلک کیوں کے قلندر یو قبا
 کچھ سئی کچھ نین سئی اک انکے گے ٹانکے اُدھر
 نین ملیا گر شہ مرا بس تجھ کون مشتاقی یہی
 بید اس پوتی سوں خارج نین تون کس سوں مت جھگڑ
 بھریا کر دل کوں گھٹ چپ ہر کدھر دوڑا نکو
 گر کچیک بستی تو یو ہے اس سوں آگل سب اجر

(غزل نمبر ۲۸)

چپ جو یک دن لب سوں لب لایا تو دسوں جگ ہوا
 سچھ ہے بیچارے اپر بدنام لیادے کے ہزار
 عاشقان کوں ماد مت بل پال اپنے پیار تے
 نین شبان کرتا ہے هرگز گوسفندان پے ہزار
 اشتیاقی ڈلف کے دھر دود تے آیا ہوں میں
 جنوں مسافر چین کا کرتا ہے منزل طے ہزار
 عاشقی کی لاف بھری مت کریں ابنتہ تون
 کے ہزاراں آئے ہیں تجھے سارے ہوں کے ہزار

(غزل نمبر ۲۹)

اگے جب شام داؤ کام اپر آیزا کام صبح و شام اپر
 اس پچھیں شمس دین پر آیا
 او تو اظہر ہے خاص و عام اپر
 شام ہوں شمس ایک تھار ملے
 سچھ کہی تو ان پہ بات نہیں
 بات ساری ہے اس غلام اپر
 بول اس حافظان کو اے بھری
 کہ کرو لعنت اس تمام اپر

(غزل نمبر ۳۰)

منجھے تو عشق سیا نین سیا ہے سوہ ہنوز سبب یو کیا جو سوچ جا دھیا ہے دوڑ ہنوز
 علف کے یہانت منجھے چرگیا تیرا براہ او مارتا ہے سبب پانوں جنوں کہ یوڑ ہنوز
 دیوبکے یہ کھوں گا حبیب کوں احوال او کون خر دیکھو گھستا ہے جنوں کہ گوڑ ہنوز
 کدی کہے تھی کہ بھری تری مورے باقی
 ہنوز کیا ہے سو ہے یاد او ہنوز ہنوز

(غزل نمبر ۳۱)

پانوں پر مٹت کیا، پیارا پکلتا نہیں ہنوز
واد کر پانی پیا، پانی ہو تھلتا نہیں ہنوز
میں تو دو دریا کیا، پن ان جزیرے کے نہیں
کھوڑ کر کرتا انگ، کشتنی ہو چلتا نہیں ہنوز
حد لله تل تیرا منجھے دل میں جا کیتا کنکر
انگا میں دوتن کے او کنکرا ہو سلتا نہیں ہنوز

جیو جم جلتا ہے بھری کا سو دھن کیا بوجھتا
آئے دریغا جیو جنور، یوں جسم جلتا نہیں ہنوز

(غزل نمبر ۳۲)

کنکی اس گانوں کا ہوا ہے پتیل
ناموں اس کا تو گانوں ہے اس کا سب دعیت ملی ہیں اس کی میل
ایس کی کوئی میں بیل یک سو سیل
دل کے تین دے پتیل کے چو کیل
ہات سوں جانے نہ دے بازی اے کولاڑی یہاں سمجھ کر کیل

بھری اس دل کوں لے بلا کہ ہے دوست
نفس دشمن ہے، گھر سوں بھار ڈھیل

(غزل نمبر ۳۳)

پیول ہوتے ہیں پیول کیل خوش حال
دو دلی، دنگ، ہوڑ مذدب حال
چک تری ات اچک، تو چھب تیتال
ہے ترے زلف کے یو دو دلآل
چپ نہ پکڑیا ہے تل او تیرا گاں
جو دھنوں آگ پر کیا ہے چال
نہ کہ یک سرو ہر نہال، نہال
یوں ہے شرڑے کوں تجھے کبر کی خیال
جنوں ہتھی کوں خیال شرڑے کا
دیکھے تجھے چال کی کینک چالی
لال کیا پوچھتا ہے حال میرا

بھریا میرا بہتر اس جاگا
دل کوں دکھ دھیر اگر زبان ہے اُناں

(غزل نمبر ۳۲)

تجھے زلف کی طرف سوں کیا دام کوں سلام
 نسبت سوں نین کے تیرے بادام کوں سلام
 ہر سرو قد نین کوں تیرے دیکھ سر نوائے
 جنوں خم صراحیاں جو کرے جام کوں سلام
 تجھے داؤنی کوں دیکھے کرو اے من ہرون ہری
 ہندو کئے جنوں اپنے ہوی دام کوں سلام
 اُس مان آسان دیا جن جو نین کیا
 ہر دنجھ کوں سراپا ہر آدم کوں سلام
 بھری نہ دل پہ دھر توں علیکی کے اشتیاق
 کرو خالصانہ خاص کوں ہود عام کوں سلام

(غزل نمبر ۳۵)

چال کرو آتے چنچل اُس چال ہوں چھب کوں سلام
 پت پتاتے لب کوں ہوں اُس لب کے مطلب کوں سلام
 بول پر کڑوے تو سے ہرگز تو ہم کرنے کے نین
 جنوں مکھی ہو یک شکر یوں ہر شکر لب کوں سلام
 او مینھیاں باتاں ہوں اُس دڑ کے کہنے کوں دعا
 او مسلسل شہد ہوں اُس شہد کے حب کوں سلام
 کل تو کرتے تھے سو دیکھیا ہوں نہ جانو کیا سبب
 ڈاہداں کے مذہب اٹھے مستان کے مشروب کوں سلام
 چِن تجھے ہوں تلکھی بھری کی دیکھیا تین کیا
 درس کوں لیلی کے ہوں مجنوں کے مکتب کوں سلام

(غزل نمبر ۳۶)

سبجن کے نین کے نازاں نظر بازار کوں آتے ہیں
 کہ ان کے نین اس نیناں سوں جم تعلیم پاتے ہیں
 نہ جانو ناز کا تعلیم کاں لیتا ہے اور لالن
 و لیکن دلبوری کا علم عشاقاں سکاتے ہیں

الک ہوں چک کوں یئتھی کر میں اپنا کام کیوں کاڑوں
کہ یو جب دلست ہو آتے تو لو آت پیجھ کاتھ ہیں
نہ لاتے مشک کا نل اس سون کے ہونٹ پر دلبر
مگر کچھ بیجھ شکر میں دھتوڑے کے ملاتے ہیں
نہ بازاری ہو بک بھری شکایت عشق بازی کا
محمد شیخ باقر تجھ گھر آپس کے بلاتے ہیں

(غزل نمبر ۳۷)

نہ چھوڑ شیخ کے کہنے اپر شراب کے تین
قلندری کے نکو توڑ سٹ طناب کے تین
ہو گرد اس کی گلی اچھے جھوٹی دکاوے گا
 جدا جو جیو کے جوہر سون کاڑ آپ کے تین
مہن کے مکھ کوں نکو آنتاب کر بولو
تووا کنا تو دوا نین ہے آنتاب کے تین
سجن کیڑے ہیں پڑے گا اٹال کیا بھری
دکھ اس کے خا پہ نظر چھوڑ اس کتاب کے تین

(غزل نمبر ۳۸)

هم جو جس بولنے کوں شکتے ہیں سو قلندر تمام بختے ہیں
منع مت کر کہ آپ آپس تے پیوٹ پڑتے ہیں پل جو پکتے ہیں
کوئی پیوتے ہیں امل لے اپنا کوئی پیوتے ہیں
معرفت کے نکر کے صرانان چھوڑ صورت کوں جن کوے گا سیر
سو اسے ہم نظر میں دیکتے ہیں ہے سنا سر سے پانوں لگ آدم
خاک کبتے سو خاک پکتے ہیں اس سوں آکل نہ چل کہ بات نہیں
سالک اس ئار آ ائکتے ہیں بات اس سات بول اے بھری
جم انجو جس کی چک سوں چھتے ہیں

(غزل نمبر ۳۹)

ہنستے ہیں اپر او جو ہاتی پہ چڑے ہیں
 نیں جانتے جکوئی چڑے ہیں سو پڑے ہیں
 خواری ہے نبٹ عشق کے عالم میں عزیزی
 یوں بوج بڑائی پہ جو جاتے سو بڑے ہیں
 سنار کون اس نگ کی نزاکت نہیں معلوم
 کچھ ہے تو منجھے ہے کہ میرے سرپہ کھڑے ہیں
 او بات نہ چل جس میں جو باتاں اچھی آریاں
 او کھڑگ نہ لے هات جس آرے جو تڑے ہیں
 بھری کے بچپن سنے سوں نیلے ہوئے بیٹے
 چے لوگ ہوئے آپنے سینے سوں جڑے ہیں

(غزل نمبر ۴۰)

کیا بلا مغز میں ہیں ہیں تیرے نیں	جو دکھے ہیں نظر منے، کونیں
اچ اس عشق میں ہوا موجود	او جو دیکھے تھے کربلا میں حسین
یو جو ابجد کے سار ہے سنسار	اس میں یک توں ہے عین، باقی غین
یک تو حق کا دگر حیا کا نور	مُک پہ تیرے توں اچ ذی انورین
کیوں نہ ہوئے توں اچ عالمگیر	لب ہ لقام تو نین ذو القرینین
جاگرست ہوں سین یو دونوں چھوڑ	
بھریا اختیار کر سکھہ سین	

(غزل نمبر ۴۱)

میں جو تب تھا سو اے عزیز آب نیں
 او معلم بی نیں، او مکتب نیں
 سب کون دب ہے ہوں اس کی جوت سوں کام
 پن موحد کون جنوں کہ شب دب نیں
 ہے تو یوں ہے، جو ہے تو ہم ہوں تم
 نیں تو یوں نیں جو اوج کیا سب نیں

نیں تو یوں نیں جو کچھ بنتے نا بات
ہے تو یوں ہے جو اچھے ہے سب نیں
یو حقیقت کلا نہ کس پہ تمام
معرفت کس اپر مرتب نیں
جن جھٹک جسم جیو ہو بینجا
سچے ہے اس بے ادب کوں مذہب نیں
منصب اس کوں سوے آدے بھری
جس کے آگل کسی کوں منصب نیں

(غزل نمبر ۳۲)

اول کے لوگ چھپا بولتے تھے کانان میں سو پید آج ہے بازار ہوں دکان میں
اولاں دنگ اپس کا دکھیا ہے ہر ہر بات توں یوں نہ جان جو اورہ اسیچھے پانان میں
ہزار دنگ ولیکن او یک ہے دردپیشی جو فرق ہے تو یہی ہر یکس کے باتان میں
عیت دھے راحت سوں کیوں سو راست کہو نہ پیار بادشاہ میں نہ خلق خانان میں
آئہا جو کل کے بدیال میں اپہاں اے بھری
سو یک دتی نہیں سچے آج کے جوانان میں

(غزل نمبر ۳۳)

جاڑیں میں اس نکار پر قربان اس سلوٹے سنگار پر قربان
جن دھتوڑا دے دل چڑائے میرا اس دغا باز نار پر قربان
جگ منجھے بولتا کہ تو گیانی کی ہوا اس گنوار پر قربان
منجھے سے عاشق کوں بواہبوس کہتے عشق کے کاربار پر قربان
دلبران کی تو دوستی معلوم عاشقل کے قرار پر قربان
یک بلا دود دوسرو بن کا
بھری اپنے بہادر پر قربان

(غزل نمبر ۳۴)

یو جکچھے سیر میں ہے یا ساکن
میں سرانا ہوں سب میرے پایں
دل مرا دیکھتا ہے نس ہوں دن
دل سو کیا میں نہ منجھے سوں دل خارج
بلکہ اس کوں وجود نے منجھے بن

میں معاً ہوں یک بڑا اے دوست
کھول سکسی نہ منجھے بن، اُن ہوں ان
میں بڑا اس جگت سوں ہوں اُول
توں نہ سمجھے جو میں ہوں اُن یک سن
میں ہوں شاہد سکل شہادت پر
کیا پچھانے منجھے یو انس، یو جن
بھری اول جو تھا سو آج بی ہے
نه او ظاہر ہوا نہ تھا باطن

(غزل نمبر ۲۵)

میں پچھانیا اُنہا جو یو بتپن
ہوے گا عشق کوں مرے دشمن
اب مرے من میں ہے جو اس من کوں
دیکھانا یکاد من موهن
زہد پیتل ہے، عشق جنوں کنچن
عشق بن عشق کوں علاج نہیں
عشق کا قول دے، بسا اے دوست
چپ نہ رہ کچھ تو بول اے بھری
حسن پیریا کلام جنوں کہ حسن
دل کی دھلی کوں جیو جمنا کن

(غزل نمبر ۲۶)

هدف کے جیو پر جنوں تیر، دشمن
پرستاداں پہ نیں ہے پیر، دشمن
اچھی گر تین پہ جس کی سیر، دشمن
مبارا یو سنے تقریر، دشمن
ہے منجھ کوں جنوں کو، انجیر، دشمن
منکے انکور تو انجیر دیتے
نہ کو بھری شکایت دوستان کی
(کھے) گا تج پہ یو تقصیر، دشمن

(غزل نمبر ۲۷)

ناگ خاطر گنوالیا من کوں
دوست کر مانتے ہیں درجن کوں
نیب کو دیکھتے ہیں چندن کوں
جنوں کہ صحنک پچھان درپن کوں
ڈاف کوں دیکھ دل دیا دھن کوں
پوست گر جانتے ہیں مغز کے تیں
نور کوں بوجتے ہیں جنوں ظلست
عمر اپنا کیتک کیتک ناچیز

یعنی اس آدمی کوں کیا جانے
بل ہے عارف کے جن جو دیکھیا ہے
یک لکی میں تمام اس بن کوں
ایک تن بیچ یو سکل سینسار
ایک من میں هزار سرپن کوں
او عزیزان جدے ہیں اے بھری
جو او جانے ہیں جُوت اس تن کوں

(غزل نمبر ۲۸)

اس سچے ساجن کوں سیچ ہونا سچپیں سچے ہے تو آو
سچے پیو، سچے کیا، سچے بولو، سچے اورو، سچے بچھاو
جمع کرتا چیو کوں سچے یوں کہ جنوں ماتی کوں جل
دل کوں کرتا ہے پریشان، جیوت یوں جنوں جل کو باو
دھرت تے آکس لک اشی ہے یک لعنت کی ہاں
جیوت جب کہتا ہے منجسا کوئی کوڈھنگی کھاوا
نیز پر قائم ہے یو سینسار اس سچے کے طفیل
نیں تو جاتا جیوت کا طوفان لگ، ذب جنوں کہ ناو
باب میں کذاب کے لا امتی وارد ہوا
یا نبی اللہ منجھے اس جیوت کے جہت سوں، چھڑاو
جیوت ہے جانو جہنم سانچے ہے گویا سرگ
یو اگر ہونا تو لے لے یا نکو کر، منجھ پہ تادو
کائنا کس کا گلا بن چوک، یا پینا شراب
یا زنا کرنا، یو سب دلیل ہے، تو ان سب پہ دادو
گیان گھر سوں جیوت کے جالے کوں اے بھری نہاں
موے سو مکڑی تیوں گنتبا راکھیا ہے کیوں، آپس کے پاؤ

(غزل نمبر ۲۹)

چنچل کے سارے چند منجھے چھاتی لکھ، توارہ ہو
یو گیار نا ہوسین بیلے، ناسوو ہوں گے یار ہو
نا دن کوں دھجھا تن پچھے، نا نس کوں نینوں نیند دے
کچھ کو دوا اس درد کا دردان کے سمجھنا ہو

کو لک چپانا جنوں کلی آب پولوں تیوں کہتا ہوں کیوں
 دامن سوں یک پلڈال کے رہنا انت اے خار ہو
 توں آن گندے پولان نن پانوال نل اچھنا کب تلک
 سر ہادر کر یک بار یک گل دخ کے گل کا ہار ہو
 مسند حقیقی عشق کا' کامل مستحق کوں سرے
 توں چب مجازی عشق کے دربار کا پروار ہو
 مطلق کوں مطلق پاؤنی' یکسان ہے ہم ہود تم تمام
 سر صوبگی منصور کوں سہتی ہے اے سردار ہو
 دلپن کوں اپنے دینپنے باقتو سے دولا کے نن
 پردا ائیا مت بصریا' اس مت پہ توں ستار ہو

(غزل نمبر ۵۰)

دھن کیا ہوا جو مک پہ لیے ناز کا پلو سینسار آت سرنگ سرانداز کا پلو
 میں خوب جانتا ہوں مہن کے فریب کوں سپریا ہے ہات میں مرے اس داڑ کا پلو
 یک تان سین کیا' جو نلاطون سے اوستاد کینچیا نہ کوئی اب تلک اس ساز کا پلو
 انعام کے تو دود ہے کیوں پائے گا اسے بارے اپس کے ہت میں لے آغاز کا پلو
 آب لگ تو کس کے ہات چڑیا نیں ہے بصریا
 اس بے نیاز باز کے پرواز کا پلو

(غزل نمبر ۵۱)

آہ او لب شعر کہاں ہے کو سرو قد' سیپر' کہاں ہے کو
 لے فسونک' اقبال مرتا ہوں جیونے کا منتر' کہاں ہے کو
 تھونڈ ڈھنڈ پانوں کے ہے کوچھ و شہر
 لال اچھتے سو گھر' کہاں ہے کو
 طاقت آسٹر' کہاں ہے کو
 بڑہ کی بو میں نیر بن چلنے
 دوز بن آفتاب دات آھے
 دوز محسشو نمن ہے دات منجھے
 او مبارک سحر' کہاں ہے کو
 مارنے آدمی کوں بار نہیں بارے اول قبر' کہاں ہے کو
 هاں نہ مارو منجھے سجن' کہ کفن
 عیب دکھ مارتے ہیں بصری کوں
 عیب نیں' سو ہنر کہاں ہے کو

(غزل نمبر ۵۲)

آب نلک تو نین کئے یو پانوں ہوڑ یو ہات کچھ
او نہ سیدھی دہ چلے یو نین کئے خیرات کچھ
نفس جنوں عزیزی ہے عزت دے نہو، دکھ سر پہ لات
لات کے لایق نہیں ہے، بن مکنی ہوڑ لات، کچھ
امر لے سر پر خدا کا، نہیں کون دے پانوں تل
ہو کیسے دوشن ہے سچھ، یو دوڑ کچھ او رات کچھ
کچھ بی لے جانا تو ہے، پن ہم نکوڑے کیا لجائیں
آوتے لیاتے، تو لے جائے اپس سنکات، کچھ
صبر کون دے گھر میں جا، سو رات کون باختر نکال
کر دیکھنا ہے سو سچھ، یو صبر کچھ، سو رات کچھ
منجھہ دوونگی سوں دکھے؟ دوست کیوں کر دوستی
دیہ کچھ، دل کچھ، نین کچھ، برت کچھ، ہوڑ بات کچھ
بھریا یک بیچ ہے، سو نور آپنند اللہ کا
گرچھ صورت میں ہے پیل کچھ، پیول کچھ، ہوڑ پات کچھ

(غزل نمبر ۵۳)

آج کی دلبڑی بی کادی تھی جیو پر بے دلان کے پیاری تھی
کل کے دن کی او سب کلا کرتے سل ہو سینے میں رات، ساری تھی
چھبی تھی گویا دکت یہڑی ترواد شاید اول بی کس کوں مادری تھی
کیوں لٹائی لکن مرے دل کوں گرنہ اس دل میں دوستداری تھی
بھری اب دکھ یو دب دھنا مشکل
کیوں کہ اول کی بات نیاری تھی

(غزل نمبر ۵۴)

لت جس کی جو سنبل کو دئے قاب، سو یو ہے
لب جس کے جو لاں کی لئے آب، سو یو ہے
نا کاتتے کچھ غم، نہ دکت دیہتے آنسوس
چک جس کے جو منجھے حق میں ہے تعاب، سو یو ہے

محبوب کے مکہرے پہ عرق گر نہ پچھانو
 آئیا ہے اگن پر او جو سیماں' سو یو ہے
 مد پان کی پیالی سوں تجھے پرکھ لیا ہوں
 تجھے سور سنجھے کون سلطلاب' سو یو ہے
 مذہب کون گنو' مال کوں کپو' من کون گلانا
 اس عشق کے کوچے میں کچیک لاب' سو یو ہے
 شہرت ہے تیروی زلف کوں بھری کی زبان سوں
 ماری ہے جن اس تار پہ منراب' سو یو ہے

(غزل نمبر ۵۵)

دکھہ دل کے دراتا ہوں، سن اے مختلف جانی
 آدم کہانی ہے، نہ یو دام کہانی
 او ناد نویلی کہ جو تصویر اپس کی
 لکھنے منے مانی سے چتاری کون نہ مانی
 یو عشق جنایا ہے جوانی منے بدپن
 بدپن میں منجھے آؤے تو عجب کیا او جوانی
 گر نین ہے موحد متول تو بی کچھے نین
 توحید کے مکہرے پہ توکل سوں ہے پانی
 بھری یو غزل بول اس اگل تون کہ جس کے
 ہے کان میں آلان کنا کان کی کانی
 (غزل نمبر ۵۶)

تجھے دیکھ کیوں نہ منجھ سے نرا دھار گر پڑے
 آسی پہ تول دیکھ چلنہار گر پڑے
 یعنی تیروے خدار پھرے نین دیکھ کر
 مستان تو کیوں نہ گر پڑیں هشیار گر پڑے
 میں اس پہ سر نثار کیا جس کی زلف کا
 یک تار دیکھ خلق کی دستار گر پڑے
 کچھے عیب نین چنچل میں ولے ایک ہے سو کیا
 آغاوار تھے سو سر چڑے، ہود یاد گر پڑے

دتا ہوں میں اتا جو میرے گھر کے آس پاس
پانوں پہسل ترنگ کے اسوار گر پڑے
آئے بیلدار عشق کے، میں ناتوان ہوں بھوت
اتنا نہ بوج لاد جو دیوار گر پڑے
بھری کوں بواہوں کہیں عشاق، دیکھ کر
ان کیا ہوا جو مست ہو، ہر تھاد گر پڑے

(غزل نمبر ۵۷)

لال تجھے لب سے لال نین سچھے ہے
دستی کوں ذوال نین سچھے ہے
پرتوالی کلال نین سچھے ہے
جنوں مچھارے کوں جال نین سچھے ہے
یاں محبت ہے مال نین سچھے ہے
اب خوش آمد توں بس کوئاے بھری
تجھے پر اُس کا خیال نیں سچھے ہے

سرو تجھے مکھ منال نین سچھے ہے
سر و ہوں قد کون دھن کے کیا نسبت
دھن تیرے مد متے نین کے نس
پن نین ڈلف باج یوں بے کار
مال ہونا تو ملک اللہ کا

(غزل نمبر ۵۸)

نین طلب تجھے بن جو تیرا ہے اسے
سر سوں دھروے جن جو تجھے ہاوے میں ہات
توں منجھے اچھتے تلوں دو تن کا کیتا
دھست اس تل پر جو میرے دل طرف
تیر اگر منجھے لیو میں تیرے تو گست
کر سر ہن بھری توں جس کے سر پر اُس
عشق کا گھسرا گھنیرا ہے اسے

(غزل نمبر ۵۹)

طوطیاں تقریز سن تیری نیکے
پیول تجھے مکھ دیکھ اپسے پیول گے
باس تیرے پر کی دھن کیا یک دیکھن
ڈلف اندھیاری میں دخ جنوں سیجلی
یک سو کیا، یک پل میں اک لک لکلے

دنیج نامہ رشک کا شکر پکے
دیکھ جوین پیل ہوے کچھ پکے
بل مدینے ہوں مکے لگ مکے
یک سو کیا، یک پل میں اک لک لکلے

جب گذر ہوتا ہے منجھے تیری گلی مارتے ہیں غم ٹلیتے دکھے دھکے
دیکھے میری اے سدھن دیوانگی دیو دھشت کھائے ہوڑ شیطان شکے
بول ہر بھر کے مت مانو برا
نیں ہے بادو گر جو کچھ بادو بکے

(غزل نمبر ۴۰)

میں جو دویا تو توں سبھ کہ دھنواں بے سبب آئھ کوں (لاتا ہے
منجھے مقیسی کوں ڈلف کے تیرے دخ تیرا کاے کوں ترانا ہے
آگ کا تر ایسے ہے اول تے گھر جھوی گھاس کا بندانا ہے
ساو گر بولتا ہے تجھے سینسار ساو ہو کیوں نظار چرانا ہے
دیکھنا عاشقان کی خواری پر اے سجن نیں تجھے سہاتا ہے
نس کوں کیا بوجھتا ہے بھری کے
دن جو جس کا گست میں جانا ہے

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSLATION OF THE SIXTY GHAZALS

GHAZAL No. 1 (الفاتح)

- (1) O thou, from whom were manifest this soul and this body :—The body was obsessed by the soul; and this soul became thy mirror (in which one could see thy form).
- (2) It was thou alone who having thrown the soul in the dust brought this mind down below. In order that the eternal form might be nourished the (human) mind became a mine.

(Note. There is a pun upon the word “من” which has a double meaning (1) mind (2) precious stone. The line contains the figure of speech called “أعانت النظير”)

- (3) To lose one's body and to put oneself in accord with this (higher) self is not entirely without gain. He who has united his soul with the dust (i.e. humbled his lower self) has become a jewel.

- (4) When the mind was not in close contact (co-operation) with the soul, for life all was (dark as a) cloud : to the eye of the soul the mind became a friend and collyrium of the mind.

- (5) That is, according to its capacity it witnessed its beloved. This (the soul) became a bridegroom to it and that (God) became its bride.

(Note. This refers to the marriage of the soul with the “Oversoul”—an idea which is commonly accepted by Eastern mystics).

- (6) Thy beloved (God) is ever existent with hundreds of forms. He becomes manifest sometimes as gold, some-

times as wealth, sometimes as sweepings, and sometimes as rose-gardens.

- (7) Whatever is left now is neither dust (body) nor mind nor breath. The precious stone (soul) was (given to us) as a security, and that too was created in its own time.
- (8) Although the inmates of every house are crying for a vision, I have had the beholding of my Beloved and an interview with my spiritual guide.
- (9) O, Bahri, for thee nowadays in order to drink the wine of Divine wisdom this mind has become a cup-bearer and this body a vessel.

No. 2

- (1) That face which is shining (with the light of) Sun is thine. The halo from the full moon, thy head, is thine.
- (2) That mole which causes great envy to the musk of *Khata*; that lip which is more sweet than honey, is thine.
- (3) I would not call this face a face, nor this incipient beard a beard. That moon which has a perpetual halo, is thine.
- (4) One look and thousands of gold thread are thine. One eye having myriads of movements is thine.
- (5) That world which may be said to be luminous with precious stones, that is thy face; that lock of hair whose name is the cobra, that is thine.
- (6) That stature near which this sugarcane is valueless, that prop like purified sugarcane, that is thine.
- (7) O, Bahri, thy garment is surely a borrowed robe of mourning. That body, which has the *Dusshala*¹ of pain and suffering on it, that is thine.

¹ A woollen sheet with plain embroidery generally kept over the shoulder, and also worn in winter.

No. 3

- (1) Now this alone is in my mind that I should not leave the *Dakhan* and go, since this *Dakhan* is to thee a gem from the mind; do not leave it and go.
- (2) These loved ones full of virtues, these oglers and this company, these flowers, these nightingales, these parterres —do not leave them and go.
- (3) These friends who are light to the eyes of *Dakhan*, they say every moment: do not leave us and go.
- (4) If any one calls the nightingale and grants (her) paradise as a gift, it is in the mind of the nightingale that (it) should not leave the forest and go.
- (5) They say truly, do not wander about like a ruby in every country. As the sun (leaves) the sky, do not leave your homeland and go.
- (6) Whither fate is drawing me, that I know not. But the soul shed tears (and says) that do not leave this body and go.
- (7) *Dakhan* is to *Bahri* as *Daman* is to *Nal*. Therefore, it is the duty of *Nal* that he should not leave *Daman* and go.

No. 4

- (1) If a rich man falls, tell me to whom one is to speak. If he does not keep up his friendship tell me to whom one is to speak.
- (2) He (my beloved) drinks wine in the company of (my) rivals night and day. If the religious censor catches hold of (him), tell me to whom I should speak.
- (3) If he shows anger (for) one or two hours it is not to be wondered at; if his whole life so passes tell me to whom one is to speak.
- (4) A hundred thousand thanks are offered if water runs from

the eyes; if a shower of blood were to come (from my eyes), tell me to whom I should speak.

- (5) During the scarcity of love, O, Bahri, tell me to whom one is to speak about our sufferings, oh thou devoid of justice.

No. 5

- (1) If Muhammad will help us; all our pain and suffering will be banished.
- (2) If in a desert you live with wild animals, all those wild beasts will be ours.
- (3) If the friends of the whole world were to become enemies; He, the eternal God, will be ours.
- (4) Let His beneficence appear; if friends become less every moment, if a lion is upon my breast.
- (5) O, Mahmud unravel the riddle of the Muwahhid (the believer in the unity of God), if Ahmad the Prophet is our Ahad (God).

No. 6

- (1) When the pang (of thy love), O ravisher of my heart, proved effectual (as a wound) upon my soul,
Then death looked light (to me) and life became burdensome.
- (2) To take and drink wine is my object in this storehouse;
why should I say whether he will give or not? My sweetheart has become the purveyor.
- (3) Verily, O Zulaikhā, be thankful, thy camphor-like locks,
(on account of) its association with this love, has become black like the musk of Tartary.
- (4) Bahri, who in this love didst not allow any reference to thyself;
Thou having copied the method of the poets, now hast begun to wrangle with them.

No. 7

- (1) In comparison with thy face, O friend, a parterre is nothing. The deer of Tartary could not equal thy eyes, O friend.
- (2) The lover would not take the *Dakhan* in exchange for the loved one's musk-like curly locks: not only this *Dakhan*, but (also) the country of Scythia and Tartary, O friend.
- (3) I am absolutely not in need of cattle and property. If the loved one is at my house, O friend, it is riches indeed, O friend.
- (4) O Bahri, do not thou, being entitled to a place in paradise, live without the nectar, if that rose-bodied one dwells in thy garden, friend.

No. 8

- (1) Why should I constantly think of the young girl; (what does it matter) whether she is old or young, I am a lover of love: whether old or young.
- (2) The world asks of me: how many days have passed since you became a lover. If the world should ask, then who remembers the day and the year.
- (3) When they have taken the soul, if one says "give it back," the sugar-lipped ones say (in reply) "Having destroyed it why should I give it? This is the property of a grain-merchant."
- (4) People kept silent having seen me in thy lane in the night. Most probably the Kotwal (the police officer) is hiding himself somewhere like me.
- (5) In grief for thee, O fairy, Bahri weeps so much constantly that if he dies, no need will arise for a washer (of his dead body).

No. 9

- (1) In this unreal school had not Love been my teacher, then the lesson of diversity would not have vanished from my heart.
- (2) Having left the restless world I would have gone to thy teacher in the school and studied tablets of the alphabet, if there were no Śād¹ in them.
- (3) I should have then been obliged to the grave-diggers of death if the building of my age had not been without foundation.
- (4) If any one had asked of me to describe the hardness of the mind of (my) beloved, I would have been hard put to it if there had been no steel (to compare it with).
- (5) Whatever was in this place, O Bahri, all went inside (disappeared). If thou hadst bewailed (thy lot), no one would have done justice to thee.

No. 10

- (1) Like my mole is desire for thee seated on my lip. My heart is seated having become the pupil in thine eye.
- (2) As I am enamoured of thy fair complexion, it is not to be wondered at if my jackfruit is to be sold for silver.
- (3) In reality they are taking away this water and mud out of me, alas! This very water and mud have become for me my veil.
- (4) My heart knows who dwells in thy heart; it is just because my heart is close to thy heart.
- (5) My own words have brought calamity on my head. Know ye that my own slab of stone has fallen on my chest.

¹ Note. Śād is the first letter of Śahīh, correct.

- (6) O Bahri, this (power of) uttering well-chosen words has gone.

This old age has enfeebled my temperament.

(Note the use of Northern Urdu *ne* ہے in this line).

No. 11

- (1) That beautiful one's (sweetheart's) ringlets have made my heart a basket of serpents.
- (2) Having taken both the thread of (her) waist and a thread of her tresses I am weaving the two together in my heart.
- (3) Do not frighten me by showing me the serpent of thy curls, because like vermicelli it is my food.
- (4) My heart is running like a pen (that draws) an outline near thy stature which is a straight star (i.e. overhead).
- (5) The snake of thy lock is sticking to the dark regions; wherein are the Alexander of love and several myriads like Darius.

No. 12

- (1) One point of understanding is enough for a discerning mind. O story-teller, do not tell a story of imagination.
- (2) In this forest the gardener has cause for getting angry at the nightingale. He plucks the flower, but it (the nightingale) is a lover of fragrance.
- (3) Where is forest, where is flower, where is fragrance (and) where is air? This beast is ever anxious for fragrance.
- (4) O saltless bread, be afraid when thou seest an oven. How long time would cotton last over the fire?
- (5) Oh Bahri, do not speak of thy condition, place thy trust in God. A servant has not the strength to say anything before a king.

No. 13

- (1) People say ravishers of heart are evil, but this is to be asked from those who have given their hearts. Opium is bitter but this (i.e. its taste) is to be inquired about from the opium-eaters.
- (2) What is the soul and what are men? What do those who are seeking the world know? (If you want) to ask these things ask those who are the discerners of the soul.
- (3) Is it true that these earthly beings will unravel the mystery of light? One should go and ask astronomers about the sun.
- (4) Who says that the secret of insensibility is out of (the ken of) insensible people. (The mystery) of this intoxicating beverage is to be asked from those who are addicted to it.
- (5) Without the Master's (i.e. God's) giving happiness it is not possible to this master (i.e. himself). An account of this paradise is to be asked from the dwellers in paradise.
- (6) Oh Bahri, in the midst of this annihilation lies the secret of the eternity of the soul. They died living, so go and inquire from those who are both dead and living.
(Note. This refers to those who are dead to their lower self).

No. 14

- (1) It is long since I have seen this beloved. On account of separation one moment appears to me like a myriad years (lit. hundred thousand).
- (2) Out of much love that sweetheart was calling me to meet her. But what has the rival done that that union has been deferred.
- (3) One who would not live away from me for one moment, who has caged that restless parrot?

- (4) What serpent is sitting on the treasure entrusted, who has become the mirror of this city of beauty?
- (5) Who has become the gardener of that garden of elegance; who has become the close associate of this flower and branches.
- (6) On the contrary why art thou engrossed in worldly affairs. Who is bewildered? Who has obtained insight into suffering?
- (7) Oh Bahri give up at present the idea of that sweetheart, to see whom is the desire of those filled with vain wishes.

No. 15

- (1) As a nightingale is pleased to see a parterre, (and) gives out a new description of every flower.
- (2) (In the same manner) with a covetous disposition (lit. taking desire upon his heart) for a desolate garden; sitting in a field the crow continues croaking.
- (3) It is content with one fragrance of a flower, and it does not know that a rat has swelled its body (to pounce upon it).
- (4) The one will never learn the walk of another. The swan at this speech smiled and spoke to the crow.
- (5) Ah, beware and run away from imitation. Imitation is not permissible in Islam.
- (6) Alas! One feels a hundred regrets for that hungry (man), for while the bread was still uncooked the baking pan broke into pieces.
- (7) In every condition Oh Bahri, live in amity; be soft like wax, and hard like iron.

No. 16

- (1) That exalted king (spiritual teacher) left me to (myself) just as the rain leaves the garden of flowers.

- (2) Like a parterre why should I not be dried up (just like a garden) when the gardener¹ leaves it completely?
- (3) Gogi exists so long as thy foot is there; otherwise it is a (mere) heap of earth belonging to the headman.
- (4) In the village one finds neither grain nor water; in the forest one finds no scattered leaves (*alā pālā*).
- (5) They set the man to blow wind and entrusted the horse to a forest.
- (6) Having torn to pieces all the clothes I had, grief and suffering became my woollen sheet.
- (7) Oh Bahri, do not leave this king's feet, as long as there is the light of the sun in this world.

No. 17

- (1) Thou (oh God) hast kept people as Thou wishest, why should one grieve over it. One is made a king and another is defeated, why should one lament?
- (2) Whether it is a good mango or (worthless as) the fruit of an (*āk*) tree; both of them are nourished by the same water. If some people talk more or less, what does it matter more or less?
- (3) Those who say the Absolute is all-knowing, they scatter their knowledge. It appears to be play. Do not ask me what this world is.
- (4) If the world was to witness the beauty of a single cup of unity. I got the news of the world in a cup. What is it that people call Jam? (meaning King Jamshed who had a cup in which he used to see all the happenings of the world).
- (5) Speech is vital. One should stick to what one says. That is steadfastness. Otherwise you may exclaim, "What

¹Here gardener means spiritual teacher without whose attention an aspirant cannot make any progress on the path of spiritual development.

is steadfastness and what is vitality?"

- (6) The pain of separation is pain indeed, but all is happiness
O Wise (man).
When this which is like a boil has become well, what need
is there of any ointment.
- (7) Oh Bahri, keep your heart cheerful. This indeed is
worship. Why do you exasperate him in every matter?

No. 18

- (1) O beloved, do not cast me out of thy heart. Thou thyself hast brought along this bramble, do not root it out.
- (2) We and you have got to fight alone. Do not spread your ringlets over (your) face.
- (3) On account of words of two straw (weight i.e. only for trivial matter) O comforter of (my) heart, do not tear the curtain of love.
- (4) My heart is like a vessel. Do not inflict injury on a stone.
- (5) It is thy pleasure, either break or maintain union with me. Do not become angry with Bahri.

No. 19

- (1) The waft of wind slipped off the hem of the scarf of that flower-laden branch (the beloved) from her face. I had the strength to see (her) face, and by virtue of that vigour became a sacrifice.
- (2) I had never been defeated, but in the game of love I was defeated. Now I shall play diverse games, (and) the doubt in my heart is removed.
- (3) Why will it (love) leave my soul? This testing (of love) will last all my life. This love is nothing if it comes today and goes away tomorrow.
- (4) In the row of libertines it is not permissible to shed tears

of hypocrisy in this manner. The water which has bubbled up and come out, has flowed from the eyes and has washed away the soot from (them).

- (5) When thou collected us whose hearts are burnt, all people hearing this were glad, but the rival felt piqued at this news.
- (6) In the bosom of separation, O Bahri, he will have some honour who scorched in his own furnace and was burnt like (parched) chick-pea.

No. 20

- (1) The new spring, new nightingales, and new branches laden with flowers, all these new affairs, why art thou leaving and going away from them?
- (2) No one will say anything in your presence or behind your back, if once for all thou turnest thy face from every side and departest.
- (3) I am not a bat to be ashamed (in the presence of sun); I am beautiful like a lotus. It is curious why art thou flying away from the sun-like face?
- (4) Neither the pathway is clear nor the day auspicious, why, O darling, art thou risking thy life in play and going away.
- (5) (Surely) thou art wishing evil to Bahri since thou throwing him off in such a manner, having put the dagger on your waist, art going away.

No. 21

- (1) Not merely one but two have pursued me: one is fever (and) another ague.
- (2) One possesses the intense heat of hell; another (has) the grove of intense cold.
- (3) This has pounded me like medicine. That has boiled me like a decoction.

- (4) No medicine can effect them. No magical formula can thwart them.
- (5) Tell me, how am I to live I am very thin, and that is thick.
- (6) I bitterly weep in such a manner day and night that every one in the (adjoining) enclosure is very much distressed.
- (7) The people of my house not (being able to) bear the sight of my condition have left the house and have gone to dwell in the backyard.
- (8) Bahri is suffering with pain in such a way as if a beam is being burnt in a dwelling place.

No. 22 (⇵)

- (1) No one has done a single thing, all that is, O Lord, is done by thee. They (the people) are mere atoms. Thou art lord, O God.
 - (2) I am eternal. What is the reason of associating me with Adam, since I trace my descent from thee, O Lord?
 - (3) Night is not a thing which can frighten one tortured by a ringlet, since in the word "Nakhshab"¹ night occurs (i.e. the word "shab" night, is part of the word Nakhshab).
 - (4) I do not grieve, O Lord, if all the Persians in a body turn against me, when the King of Arabia is protecting me (lit. is at my head).
 - (5) I have got my love (when) my life was taken over by him, since the grace of the beloved is in the lover, O Lord.
 - (6) Where has the river gone, have the people not seen this? for Mahmud has the title of Bahri, O Lord.
- (Note. This couplet contains figure of speech called Ishtiqāq).

¹ Nakhshab, name of a city in Turkistan famous for the appearance of the moon which the impostor Muqanna caused to ascend from a pit in the neighbourhood (called cāh-i-Nakhshab) during the space of two months.

No. 23 (ସ)

- (1) What shall I do ? To whom shall I go and say this thing ? I have gone out of my own hands (lost control over myself), alas !
- (2) God be witness, no enemy has done it to me, what destruction there is I have caused to my own self.
- (3) You have gone in the night to every country. I have gone to my country in the night.
- (4) That is that I have done nothing, no prayer, no fasting, no meditation, no repentance, no use of rosaries.
- (5) I have been given to the eating and drinking of unlawful things; tell me (if) the judges are displeased with me.
- (6) O friend, I am very sinful, yet salvation lies in the gift of the friendship of the Chosen Prophet.
- (7) I have sunk in the sea of (this) world. If thou dost not extend thy hand of (help), who else will do it ?
- (8) The Shaikh (reputed saint) of the world Muhammad Baqir, who holds high rank in the threshold of the Friend (God).
- (9) If he casts a kind glance on me, then I shall become a king, otherwise (my) defeat is certain, (or without doubt I am checkmated).

(Note. Allusion to the game of chess).

- (10) I have spoken much having gone beyond my limit. To this I have given in vain the name of aphorisms.
- (11) Of one utterance there are a thousand enemies. One letter has myriads of vowel points.
- (12) Although Bahri's speech is crooked, still he is straight with thee, O Beloved.

No. 24 (୯)

- (1) (When I) see the moon I remember thy brilliance.
(When I) see the stars I recall thy worshippers.

- (2) (My) house appears to me fresh sandal-wood. O Beloved, the moment I remember thy gardens in front of the mansion.
- (3) People doubt my not eating sugar. What shall I say to them? It is when thy sweet words I remember.
- (4) When I tell all of them to sit down and meet Bahri, thy modes of speech and thy wrangling come to my memory.

No. 25 (,)

- (1) Do not make thyself the servant of heart-ravishers (sweet-hearts). If thou hast to become a servant do not sadden thy heart.
- (2) Do not be delighted with dishevelled ringlet on the face. Do not turn the spun thread into cotton.
- (3) Like the covetous nightingales in every forest see thou give not expression to thy grief.
- (4) That is, be of one belief in one place, apart from him do not imagine anything else.
- (5) If there is no smoke of a burnt heart in thy sighs, do not make thy clothes blue in vain.
- (6) Oh Bahri, tear off thy veil. Do not seek refuge in the country of the mind.

No. 26

- (1) Do not let your ringlet wave, there is a mole on the neck; the fly goes away as soon as a fan is moved.
- (2) I have become an opium-eater¹ seeing that mole, I am in quest of a lump of sugar.
- (3) Do not deny that this is indeed thy arrow, though I have naturally taken it to be a shaft and a point.

¹ An opium-pill is black like a mole. His love for the mole is compared to love for opium.

- (4) But without water in the fire of thy face¹ it is burnt.
Truly, everything becomes black when it is burnt.
 - (5) Do not forbid me to speak of my pain. Do not keep
your hand on a burning barrel.
 - (6) Understand, O lover, the oneness of love, this state of
excess (of love) is due to my extreme emotion.
- (Note. The greatness of my love must not be attributed to
my having several loved ones. I have only one).
- (7) The believers in the unity (of God or of love) are valued
men that is soldiers. They appear like the moon when
the unity becomes manifest.²
 - (8) Oh Bahri, discrimination is not allowed on this path;
keep a single eye on evil and good.

No. 27 (5)

- (1) When my help was perfect, that is the kindness of my
guide, bringing the ladder of effort, I would have seized
(the goal) in a moment.
- (2) When I look, then the King is punishing him. What
does it matter to a very humble man if he should fall
at the feet of that king.
- (3) If you come again and ask me, my king (teacher) is not
separate from me; (lit.) what has happened, he has
ascended and gone and sat on my head. (Fig.) For he
rules my thought at all times.
- (4) Then why hast thou come here in the robe of a wandering
mendicant; part of which is stitched and part not stitched,
whereas the stitches of other parts have come out.
- (5) *My King (teacher) had not met me? This is thy desire:* The
Veda is not excluded from this book, do not wrangle
with anybody.

¹ The beloved's face is compared to fire.

² If Khale means "halo" the last phrase may be translated thus: "When
the unity (assumes the shape of) a halo."

- (6) O Bahri, make thy strong heart silent and do not let it run in every direction. If there is any town it is this; compared with it everything is desolate.

No. 28 (;)

- (1) When one day he silently brought (his) lips in contact with (her) lips he was disgraced (throughout) the world. It is true that wine makes the poor man a thousand (times more) dishonoured.
- (2) Do not kill (thy) lovers but nourish them with thy love. A shepherd never attacks the goats a thousand times.
- (3) Possessed by the desire for (thy) ringlets I have come running (to thee), like a traveller to China who passes through a thousand stages.
- (4) Albeit, O Bahri, do not boast of thy love (affairs). Thousands and thousands (of lovers) like thee have come (and gone).

No. 29

- (1) When the chief came to attend to his work, it befell me to do my work day and night.
- (2) After him the sun of religion came. (Although) he manifests himself to the masses and classes (alike).
- (3) The evening and the sun met in one place. Resurrection has fallen on stagnancy.
- (4) Truly speaking, this does not concern them. The whole (brunt) has fallen on this slave.
- (5) Tell these memorisers of the Qur'an, O Bahri! Curse ye this kind of completion (of the Qur'an by heart).

No. 30

- (1) The love has not united with me but the pathos is still

sticking to me. What is the reason that the sun disappears still every day?

- (2) Thy separation has eaten me up like fodder. It is still kicking me like a cream-coloured horse.
- (3) I shall relate these conditions of the rival to the friend. Look, the rump of an ass is still roaming about like a doe.
- (4) Did you ever say to me, O Bahri, "Was anything left between you and me?" Whatever is left up to this time is (thy) memory that too for the time being only.

No. 31

- (1) I entreated the beloved falling at his feet but he does not yet melt. I made an offering of water which I waved round (his) head and drank but he does not flow down as water does.
- (2) I have made a river by shedding tears but he like an island, cuts his way separately (and) does not yet move like a boat.
- (3) Praise be to God, thy mole has made an edge in my heart. But it does not yet pierce the body of the messenger like a pebble.
- (4) What (can) beloved understand of Bahri's heart-burning. What a pity that the body does not yet burn like the soul.

No. 32 (J)

- (1) Carnality has come to the front having thrust aside the heart; the peasant of this village has become the headman.
- (2) The latter's name is famous and the former owns the village: all the tenants have made common cause with them.
- (3) There is not a single kitten in his house. In his mansion there is one ox and that too is inactive.

- (4) (He) degrades (his) soul, i.e. (he) gives to the heart the headman's stool.
- (5) Do not let slip the game from your hand; O player, play on with full understanding here.
- (6) O Bahri call back this heart because it is thy friend. Thy animal life is thy enemy, turn it out of the house.

No. 33

- (1) Seeing that high-coloured red face the flowers blossom and expand happily.
- (2) Seeing thee in the forest all the nightingales are half-hearted, amazed and hesitating.
- (3) Thy locks are black, thy wrinkles close; thine eyes are very brimful and thy gait three-storied.
- (4) Either it is a little snake or hyacinth; these are the two brokers of thy locks.
- (5) Having taken Turkish Empire¹ he keeps an eye on Syria (also); the mole has not caught hold of thy cheek without reason.
- (6) Perhaps the smoke has sought the help of thine incipient down; because it has risen over the fire.
- (7) Seeing the mode of thy walk, the swan has forgotten his own manner of walking like the crow.
- (8) As an elephant thinks of a ravenous beast of prey so a powerful (man) thinks of thy loins.
- (9) The cypress has been glorified by thy stature; not merely the cypress (but) every sapling plant is thriving.
- (10) O (my) darling, what dost thou ask me (of) my condition. My condition is that of being completely trampled on by thy feet.
- (11) Oh Bahri, patience is better in this place; keep thy heart steady if (thy) tongue is hasty.

¹ Rūm stands for beloved's face and Shām for her locks.

No. 34 (r)

- (1) I salute the net on behalf of thy locks. I salute the almond owing to its resemblance to thy eyes.
- (2) Every cypress-statured one (i.e. beloved) bends his head (when) he sees thy eyes, just as a jar and jugs give greeting to a cup.
- (3) O heart-ravishing Hari (beloved) on seeing thy scarf the Hindus saluted thee as if they were saluting their Hari Ram.
- (4) In that way the sky gave what a man did not give. Every grief is to be cursed and every comfort to be greeted.
- (5) O Bahri, do not keep on thy heart the desire for getting your salutations returned. Salute with sincerity the classes and the masses.

No. 35

- (1) If this mode of walk is restless, salutation to that walk and grace.
Salutations to the slab-like lips and to its significance.
- (2) I would never protest against thy bitter speech. As a fly (runs after) every kind of sugar in the same manner salutations to everyone with lips like sugar.
- (3) My prayers are for the sweet talks and that faltering utterance, and my salutations to the continuous honey and to the love of that honey.
- (4) I have seen you talking. I do not know what the reason is. Salutations to the cult of the intoxicated, because the religion of pious men has vanished.
- (5) He who has seen thee and inconstant Bahri has made salutations to the lesson of Laila and to the school of Majnun.

No. 36 (६)

- (1) The oglers know the dalliance of the eye of the sweet-heart, because their eyes learn in exact accordance with these eyes.
- (2) We do not know where that sweetheart learns the art of amorous playfulness, although (we know that) the science of heart-ravishing is taught by the lovers.
- (3) Having put the ringlets and the eyes together, why should I exact my own work from them? Because when the latter are straitened, the former is greatly twisted.
- (4) The ravishers of the heart would not have brought a mole of musk on this lip of beauteous colour, yet they mingle some seeds of the thorn-apple with the sugar.
- (5) May God always keep safely those who blame me; wherever there is some talk about him they give me pain.
- (6) Oh Bahri, do not rave (rail) complaining against (the art of) love-making like common people, Sheikh Muhammad Baqir summons thee to our place.

No. 37

- (1) Do not give up wine (because) the priest bids you to do so. Do not break the rope (of unity) of wandering mendicants and throw it away.
- (2) Wander round the lane of any one who is (likely) to show you (the path); extract the essence of soul separately for yourself.
- (3) Do not speak of the beloved's face (as if it were) the sun. It is not right to compare anything with the sun.
- (4) The sweetheart is standing, why are you in a hurry, O Bahri? Keep an eye on his incipient beard; leave this book alone.

No. 38

- (1) Whatever speech we are doubtful about, this same speech is prated by the wandering mendicants.
- (2) Do not forbid me, since the fruits which ripen burst of their own accord.
- (3) Some people wander about bearing (i.e. displaying) their noble origin, while others slink off and are terrified at shadows.
- (4) The money-changers of the town of divine wisdom discriminate therein between genuine and counterfeit (things).
- (5) He who travels about leaving aside (outer) form, such a one alone we keep under our view.
- (6) Man is gold from top to toe (and yet) he eats dust and chuckles it into the mouth by the palm of the hand.
- (7) Do not go further than this because there is no path (ahead). The devotees are entangled when they come to this place.
- (8) Talk only to such a one, Oh Bahri from whose eyes tears are as it were flowing.

No. 39

- (1) Those who are riding on an elephant laugh at us. They do not know that those who climb have a fall.
- (2) Humiliation is held very dear in the world of love; understand it thus: those who aspire to be great they are (really) great.
- (3) The goldsmith does not know the elegance of this stone. If anyone knows it at all it is I on whose head they (the higher beings) are standing.
- (4) Do not tread the path which has stumbling blocks or in which difficult discourses are given. Do not take in

your hand that rugged course which has cross-purposes¹ (behind it).

- (5) Those folk who have iron-plates against their breast have become yellow (pale) instead of blue on hearing Bahri's words.

No. 40

- (1) What an extraordinary thing there is in thy brain, O eyes ! which enables thee to bear the two worlds in thy vision.
- (2) Whatever Husain witnessed in Karbalā presented itself today in this love.
- (3) In this world which is like the letter of the alphabet, thou alone art 'Ain (i.e. present) and the rest is Ghain (i.e. absent). غایب represents غیر حاضر or غایب
- (4) One is the light of God, another of modesty; on thy face today there is that which is possessed of double lights.
- (5) Why shouldest thou not be conqueror of the world today ? Thy lip is like Luqmān and thine eyes like Alexander the Great.
- (6) Give up both waking and dreaming, Oh Bahri, adopt thou ease and repose.

No. 41

- (1) What I was then, that I am not, Oh dear one, now.
That teacher is not here, nor is that school.
- (2) All have God, and have to deal with His light, but to a believer in one God like the night God is not.²
- (3) If (He) exists at all (it is like this): If He exists then you and I exist (too). If He is not, then all this is not, what-

¹ Taking کھنگ to mean sword, the translation stands thus : Do not take in your hand the rugged sword which has blunt edges.

² This refers to the doctrine of احادیث محدثہ, which means that He alone exists and that there is no other existence apart from Him.

ever He made is naught.

- (4) All this Reality is not known by anyone fully. Divine Knowledge is not vouchsafed to any (particular) person.
- (5) Anyone who (claims) to have discarded his body (and pretends) to have become soul alone; it is true such a disrespectful man has no religion.¹
- (6) High rank is befitting to one, Oh Bahri, in whose presence no one has any rank at all.

No. 42

- (1) What people in former days used to whisper secretly in our ears, that secret is (disclosed) in the market-place and in the shops.
- (2) That red colour common to us is kept in every single thing, do not think that it is found only in the betel leaves.
- (3) There are thousands of varieties, but the doctrine (or office) of a dervish is but one. If there is a difference it lies only in the discourses of each one of them.
- (4) Tell me truly how is a peasant to live in pleasantness (lit. comfort) (when) there is no love lost among the kings, nor is there any urbanity among the princes.
- (5) That ebullition which was found among the old people of yesterday, Oh Bahri, truly speaking, it is not found in the young men of today even as much as a ratti.

No. 43

- (1) I sacrifice myself on that beautiful one. I make myself an offering on that attractive embellishment.

¹ This means that a true believer in the tenets of Islam should pay due attention to the well-being of his body and all the religious injunctions relating to its preservation and purity, and not neglect them.

- (2) He who having administered dhaturā (a deadly drug used by poisoners) (to me) steals my heart, I sacrifice myself on that fraudulent blandishment (the beloved).
- (3) He who calls me one endowed with divine knowledge (a seer), how has he made himself an offering to that boorish fellow (myself)?
- (4) A lover like me people style fanciful, I sacrifice myself to the affairs of love.
- (5) The friendship of the heart-ravishers is indeed a well-known thing, (yet) I sacrifice myself to the constancy of lovers.
- (6) One calamity (of one forest) is gone. O Bahri, I (now) sacrifice myself on the spring of another forest.

No. 44

- (1) Whatever is in motion or stationary I am the head (of it) and everything else (is at) my feet.
- (2) It does not affect the Reality if I did not see It; my heart perceives It day and night.
- (3) What is my heart?—the heart is not outside myself moreover it has no existence apart from me.
- (4) I am a great enigma, O friend; no one can unravel it without me, whether it be that or this.
- (5) I am greater than this world and the beginning (of all). Thou dost not understand that I and it are of one age.
- (6) I am a witness to every (kind of) martyrdom. What does this man and this Jinn (intermediate being) know of me?
- (7) O Bahri, what He was in the beginning that He is also today. He has been neither manifest nor hidden.

No. 45

- (1) I did know that this old age would become inimical to my love.

- (2) Now I have a mind that I should show to this mind a mind-fascinator (sweetheart) or two.
- (3) Abstinence is becoming, but this love is something else; abstinence is but brass, love is like gold.
- (4) There is no cure for love but love; love is the remedy to the suffering of love.
- (5) Cause the word of love dwell (in thee) O friend, having set up the soul in Dihli (Delhi) of the heart.
(N. B. There is a pun on the word بھری Taken with the imperative verb بھر it means to set up or firmly establish and also name of the river that flows past Delhi).
- (6) Do not be silent, utter something, Oh Bahri, (say) pleasing words like Hasan (Ali's son).

No. 46

- (1) On account of thee I have enemies in all four quarters, just as an arrow is inimical to the life of a target.
- (2) But do not place enmity on me: the spiritual teacher is not an enemy to the worshippers.
- (3) He alone should befriend thy feet, whose head is an enemy to his body (i.e. he is ever ready to sacrifice his head on the altar of his love).
- (4) "Do not speak ill of me if you are in anger lest the enemy may hear this speech of thine."
- (5) When I ask for grapes they give me figs, like the crow the fig is my enemy.
- (6) O Bahri, do not complain of (thy) friends, thy enemy will attribute this fault to thee.

No. 47

- (1) Having seen the ringlet (I) gave my heart to the beloved. For the sake of the cobra I lost my heart.
(N. B. In Persian and Urdu poetry a woman's ringlets

are compared to black serpents because of their dark colour and long curls).

- (2) We regard skin as marrow. We treat an enemy as a friend.
- (3) We regard light as darkness, we look upon the sandal-wood as being but nīm, (a tree found only in India).
- (4) How worthless we have made our life in looking upon a mirror as if it were an earthen plate.
- (5) That is, what should we think of that man who takes a rose-garden as being a dunghill ?
- (6) He is a true sage who observes in one bud the whole of this forest.
(N. B. This refers to the mystical doctrine of seeing unity in diversity and the whole in the part, and vice versa).
- (7) In one body is all this world, in one jewel there are thousands of serpents.
- (8) Those dear ones are different Oh Bahri, who know this body to be light.

No. 48 (,)

- (1) If you really and truly want that true Beloved, then come; drink truth, eat truth, speak truth, garb yourself with truth and spread out truth.
- (2) Truth collects the soul, just as water collects mud. Falsehood distracts the heart as wind disturbs the water.
- (3) From the earth to the sky the cry of imprecation is suddenly raised when a vicious and wicked (person) like myself tells a lie.
- (4) By virtue of this truth the world is established on water, else the storm of falsehood would have sunk (everything) just like a boat.
- (5) In respect to a liar it was announced that he was "not one of the fold of Islamic fraternity." O Prophet of God

save me from this falsehood quickly.

- (6) Realise that falsehood is hell, truth as it were heaven; if thou desirest the latter then take it or let the heat of the former (fall on) me.
- (7) To cut somebody's throat without any fault or to drink wine or to commit adultery—all these are queens and you are a king over them.
- (8) From the house of divine knowledge extricate the web of falsehood, Oh Bahri; why hast thou kept the hair entangled round thy feet like a spider?

No. 49

- (1) All the crafts of the sportive (sweetheart) when they touch my heart pierce (like) a sword. These wounds will not be healed; they will become ulcer, O friend.
- (2) There is no rest by day for this well-dressed body nor is there any sleep for the eyes in the night. Tell me of some medicine for this pain, O (thou) who understandest sufferings.
- (3) How long (art thou) to hide like a bud; now I bid thee to expand like a flower; with skirt resembling a flower-laden branch remain thou clinging like a thorn.
- (4) Like unstrung flowers how long wilt thou lie under the feet? Lose thy head once and become a garland for the neck of a flower-faced one.
- (5) The cushion of real love befits a perfect discoverer, philosopher (alone). Thou shouldst silently become dependent on the court of phenomenal love.
- (6) Absolute acquisition of the Absolute is all alike to you and us. Chieftainship and the leadership is befitting only to Mansur.
- (7) See thy bride like the bridegroom Baqir. Do not lift the curtain Oh Bahri, be the concealer of this religion.

No. 50

- (1) (My) beloved, what is the matter that you should carry on your face a border (of the scarf) of elegance? The most red-coloured of the world, the border (of the scarf) which is thrown on the head.
- (2) I very well know the fascinator's fraud. (O) snake-charmer, I have in my hand the hem of this secret.
- (3) To say nothing of Tān Sen and a teacher like Plato, not one of them has upto now drawn the edge of this musical instrument.
- (4) People say¹ that the end is indeed far off, how wilt thou attain it?
Just once take into thy hands the border of the beginning.
- (5) Oh Bahri, no one has yet attained to the hem of the flight of that independent falcon.

No. 51

- (1) Alas! tell me where is that sugar-lipped one? Where is (that) cypress-statured, silver-bodied one (the beloved), tell me.
- (2) O sorcerer, make haste, I am dying. Tell me where is the charm for prolonging life?
- (3) The feet have gone questing in the lane and in the city. Tell me where is the most beautiful ruby.
- (4) In the heart (of the Beloved) separation (i.e. the pangs of separation) runs like water from a sieve. Tell me where can I find the power for patience?

(نے صبر درد مل عاشق نہ آب د، غرباں)

¹ Note. سر = سر is a Dakhani patois.

- (5) A sunless day is like a night. It is night, tell me where is that moon (the Beloved) ?
- (6) The night is to me like the day of Judgment. Tell me where is that auspicious morning ?
- (7) Death is not a burden to man only tell me first where is the tomb ?
- (8) Do not kill me, Oh sweetheart. Tell me where is the money with which to buy shroud ?
- (9) They are attaching blame to Bahri and killing him. Not faults, tell me where are a hundred merits ?

No. 52 (a)

- (1) Until now this foot and this hand have not done anything. They did not tread the straight path, nor did they do any charity.
- (2) As the carnal self is rebellious, give it little respect, trample on its head.
It is not worth a kick, but should be without any fist-blow and kick.
- (3) Take the behest of God on (thy) head, and put God's prohibition under thy foot. Something of this day and something of this night is clear to everybody.
- (4) Something has to be carried (with us) but what are we helpless (beings) to carry ? If we would have come and brought something then we would have carried away with us something.
- (5) Give patience a place in your home, turn out selfishness. This patience and this selfishness will truly do and show something.
- (6) How is the Friend (God) to keep up friendship with me the double dealing one, (for my) body, heart, eyes, means of subsistence and words are all different from one another.
- (7) Oh Bahri, (there) is one seed, that indivisible light of

God, although in form, fruit, flower and leaf differ from one another.

No. 53 (۵)

- (۱) Today's heart-ravishing was useless, on the soul of the heartless ones it was heavy.
- (۲) All the complaints of yesterday were (like) the fever that lasts in the chest the whole night.
- (۳) (Her) charm was, as it were a sword drenched with blood; perhaps it had struck someone at first.
- (۴) Why has attachment arisen in my heart to thee, if in that heart there was no friendliness.
- (۵) Bahri now it is difficult to suppress this pain, because in the beginning things were different.

No. 54

- (۱) He (the Beloved) whose locks imparted curling to the hyacinth, is this indeed.
He (the Beloved) whose lips took away lustre from rubies is this indeed.
- (۲) It feels no grief on cutting and no regret on beholding blood; he (the Beloved) whose eyes are no better for me than a butcher, is this alone.
- (۳) (It is surprising) that you do not recognise the sweat on the beloved's face: the quicksilver which is hanging on fire, is this alone.
- (۴) I have tested thee with a cup of wine. To understand thee, who art like the sun, this indeed is astrolabe.
- (۵) To lose one's religion, to be robbed of one's property, to soften one's mind: in the lane of love, (if) there is any gain it is this indeed.
- (۶) The renown of thy locks is due to Bahri's tongue. This indeed is the striker of the plectrum on the string.

No. 55

- (1) I am repeating the heart's pangs, listen to it, O sincerest friend.
 This is a story of comfort, (and) not a tediously long story.
- (2) The picture of that beauteous damsels that we made, defeated in its painting Mānī (the celebrated Chinese painter).
- (3) This love has created old age in youth. In old age if it comes to me then what is to be wondered at in that youth.
- (4) If a unitarian is not relying (on God), then it (his belief) is nothing. The lustre on the face of the unity of God is due to reliance (on God).
- (5) O Bahri, recite this ode in the presence of one who hears in his ears the sound of "Alān Kamā Kān."¹

No. 56

- (1) Having seen thee why should not a supportless man like me fall down. A sifter has to fall down when he sees weighing in a resting place.
- (2) That is, viewing thy intoxicated eyes, why have not the inebriated ones fallen down (when) even the sober has fallen.
- (3) I made an offering of (my) head to the Beloved on seeing one string of whose ringlets the turban of the people of the world fell down.
- (4) There is no defect in that volatile one (the Beloved) but one. What is it? The rivals have found much favour, while friends have fallen down.
- (5) I am weeping so much because in the neighbourhood of

¹ Note. Arabic phrase meaning "it is now as it was before."

my house the feet of the rider of the chestnut horse slipped and he fell down.

- (6) O digger of reason I am very feeble, do not thou load to such an extent that the wall may fall down.
- (7) The lovers seeing Bahri call him full of foolish desires. What has happened to him that he falls down intoxicated in every place?

No. 57

- (1) The sun is not like thy face, this is true. The ruby is not as red as thy lips, this is true.
- (2) There is no comparison between a cypress-like stature (and the graceful form of) the sweetheart. It is true, truth does not decline.
- (3) Beloved, the Portuguese wine¹ is not like thy intoxicated eyes, this is true.
- (4) But the player with ringlets is not without work. It is true that (he) is like a fish catcher without a net.
- (5) If property is required then there is the Kingdom of God. It is true, here is love, not property.
- (6) Now put an end to flattery, O Bahri. It is true he has no thought of thee.

No. 58

- (1) One who is thine does not desire anything but thee. One who has become thine has plenty for him.
- (2) One who washes his hand in thy deep dark place at the risk of his head, he has a chaplet (consisting) of a hand bracelet on his head.
- (3) Thou hast by turning made me double-bodied. What fear has he of the sun who has a tent (by his side)?

¹ جس lit. means a distiller, here it means wine.

- (4) A blessing from on high on that mole which goes toward my heart like a fly which hovers round a wounded man.
- (5) If an arrow were to swim in my blood then it would be to him amusing, because it would appear to be like a reed in the water.
- (6) Take refuge, O Bahri at the head of such a one who has experienced in abundance the shock of love.

No. 59

- (1) Parrots have become tired on hearing thy speech, being unable to bear the sorrow of envy, they have thrown sugar into their mouth.
- (2) On seeing thy face the flowers have (blossomed forth) to a great extent; beholding the bloom of thy youth the raw fruits have turned into ripe ones.
- (3) The scent of thy breast, Oh beloved, has spread not only in the Deccan but has (also gone) to Medina and Mecca.
- (4) In the midst of dark locks thy face is like a flash of lightning. To say nothing of one hundred, in one instant it travels myriads of paces of distance.
- (5) When I have to pass through thy lane, the drowners of sorrow strike palpitation (in my heart).
- (6) Gaze at my madness, O opulent one (Beloved). The demons are struck with terror and Satan is perplexed.
- (7) Do not take amiss Bahri's words. Whatever a crazy person raves is not to be accepted.

No. 60

- (1) When I weep then understand thou that the smoke is making the eyes shed tears causelessly.
- (2) When I am seated in thy tresses, why does thy face alarm me?

- (3) He who builds a house of straw is afraid of fire from the beginning.
- (4) If the whole world calls thee upright, being an upright person why dost thou steal thy glance away (from me) ?
- (5) Gazing at the degradation of lovers, O beloved, does not become thee.
- (6) What dost thou ask about the night of Bahri whose days are spent in vice ?

CHAPTER VII

SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE SCRIPT EMPLOYED IN THE MANUSCRIPT

Three dots were placed under ک to make it گ in imitation of Turkish usage. Similarly in ڙ instead of putting ڦ on it, as it is done nowadays, in Bahri's time they used three dots under it as ڇو پڻ and four dots on ڦ and ڏ to make them ڦ and ڏ as ڦاٽ ; ڦاٽ ڦاٽ ڦاٽ ڦاٽ

The madd of اَلْفَ مُدُودَه is often omitted, for instance اَکِي، اَجِي، اَمِي etc. are written as اَکِي، اَجِي، اَمِي

According to the common practice* of those days we frequently meet with composite script comprising two words in one اَسْكِي، دَهَانِيَنْ، مَنْجِيَنْ are only a few instances taken at random from the pages of the MS. They should have been written as اَسْكِي، دَهَانِيَنْ مِينْ، مَنْجِيَنْ سُونْ The letter ڦ (as also ڦ) signifying the modern هِي is generally joined to the previous word. There is no distinction made in the use of these two forms of the unicongsonantal words.† In one place بَسْمَ اللَّهِ is written as بَسْلَه according to the exigency of the metre employed. The word above variously appears as سِلَه and سَلَه. The writer follows the old habit of Persian scribes in writing the letter گَافِ as ڪَافِ. In the same manner, no distinction has been made between the dental ڻ and the نُونِ-igbunna for no such distinction was made in those days. The language of Bahri's works is pure and chaste Dakhni of the old type and is indeed an excellent sample of that language.

Naturally, therefore, we come across numerous words of Sanskritic origin. The whole work is replete with words

* This continues even today among the scholars of the old type.

† سبب تصنیف این رسالہ (A)

and expressions of this type. Some knowledge of Sanskritic vocabulary is necessary to understand the poet.

The following few examples will give an idea of what is meant :—

		meaning
اُرٹ	अर्थ	
اُدک	अधिक	more
آس	आस	hope
آکاشر	आकाश	sky
اُد	आदि	ancient, eternal
اُت	अति	exceedingly
آنند	अनन्त	endless
بازی	वाटिका, वाड़ी	house, garden
چ	भज	worship
پریمیج	प्रपञ्च	(the manifold) world
پربت	पर्वत	mountain
پند	पिण्ड	body
بھن	वचन	word
پر ان	प्राण	life-breath
پر جا	प्रजा	subject
تھوں	त्रिभुवन	three worlds
جو تی	ज्योति	lustre, light
جیو	जीव	soul, self, a being
دل	दल	army
دیا	दया	kindness
سیس	सीष	head
سیس	सहस्र	thousand
ستھول	सथूल	gross, coarse
سوکشم	सुक्षम	fine, subtle
سرگ	स्वर्ग	Heavens
سکل	सकल	all

سیوک	सेवक	servant
سأگر	सागर	ocean
سَنْهِيَّة	स्नेह	friendliness
سَنْسَار	संसार	world
کارن	कारण	cause
سَمْت	मत	opinion
مَانْس	मनुष्य	man
ناد	नाद	sound
نُوكِنڈ	नवखण्ड	nine sections (of the world)

SOME STRIKING AND MEMORABLE LINES FROM THE MASNAVI

- (1) What is called 'Irfān by the Arabs, the people of India call Jñāna.
- (2) You are worried for the sake of bread. The whole of your life is passed in the same rut.
- (3) All the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas*, O pure mind, have been produced by Thee.
- (4) You are neither lower self nor body nor illusory world, (*Maya*), your rank is higher than these.
- (5) The beginning and the end of things is the Self within, within and without he alone exists.
- (6) The two worlds, earth and heaven, shiver when anyone utters a lie.
- (7) Every religion has *Dharma* (moral law) and the law of Dharma is one and the same. However variant the texts may be the meaning is one and the same.
- (8) In truth, the saints do not die. Wind does not put out the lamp of their existence.
- (9) O brother, you should not be led away by mere words; if you reflect a moment, you will understand them better.

Leave the words alone, and look to the underlying meaning.

GLOSSARY OF ARCHAIC WORDS

(الف)

آنن			Cloud.
آنجیو		آنسو	tears.
آنجن			Collyrium.
آپاں		ابل	Ebullition.
آت	(Skt. अति)		Many, Excessive.
آنھیا			Love-glance.
انکیا	(अज्ञ)	آکیا	Order, Command.
آنکھ			Senseless.
آکا	T & H = ۱۴		Brother; friend.
افلاکیاں			Astronomers.
ارس	(S. अरुच)		{(1) Wound, Sword. (2) Mirror.
آٹال	(S. इत्ताल)		At this time; now.
آٹال	(Hindi उत्तावल)		hasty.
الاپا			leaves of trees.
آک			fruit of a tree.
أسلس			sigh.
آنن		آنا	Wet-nurse.
آچک			Brimful; Chockful.
آنک			Lock of hair, ringlet.
آستہر	(स्थिर)	إسْتَهْر	Patience, stability.

(ب)

بسالا	بسال		Large.
باں			Without, in the absence of. The word is used by the poet Valī also.

نیوں		Do not speak.
بیگ	پاک	Run away.
بازی		Garden, field, garden-house.
برشلا	برش کال	The rainy season.
بیار	باہر	Outside.
برہ		separation.
باد	بال	hair, child, burden.
بل بل		oblation; offering.
بادل		Mad; crazy.
بَسَرْنَا	(S. وَنَسَمُ)	to forget.

(ب)

پنہ	پورنیسا	full moon.
پام		thread running along the edges of lace to prevent its ravelling.
پالا		Heap of earth.
پُنکھے	کٹا، کٹی	to blow into a flame.
پُن		again.
پوت		coat پُوت = love.
کٹا		pale, faded (2) bit; piece.
پُٹو		edge; border.
پیرنا		The reed or flag; a long coarse grass.

(ت)

تکلا		prop.
تکڑا		grove.
تینتال		a three-storied house.
تے، سے		from.
تان	ھاں	thither, there.

(ج)

چکاراں			Light; brightness.
جانا	جئے، جائے		place.
چان		چھان	when, where.
جه			Old Hindi-like.
جن		وہ	Whoever.

(ل)

چڑا			Motion.
چک	(S. चक्षु)		cyc.
چرا		چوتا	rat.
چوکیل			a pedestal; a stool.
چب			does not mean in the context silence but according to the old & new Deccani usage it means without any purpose. میں چب آگیا، یعنی خواستشوائی، بلا ضرورت آگیا،

(د)

درمن	(Persian درمان)		remedy, medicine.
دکال			Bad season; famine.
دوتن			Messenger.
دهن			fire.
داونے			the act of treading corn; distinction.
دچکنا			to be alarmed, run away.
دھنلا	دھنیلا		Well-dressed; stylish.
درانا	دھرانا		to repeat.

(،)

(وس			Anger.
(بیچ	(بیچہ)		satisfaction.
سٹ			
سکل	(S. سکل)		All.

(س)

سُنا		سونا	gold.
سنگات = سنگت	(S. سانگت)		Company; together.
= سنپل		سُبپت	Happiness; wealth.
سروہ			purified.
سجان			Wise; intelligent.
سد			fresh.
مرپن	(S. سرپن)		The Roon-tree.
درن	(S. سرن)		refuge, Alexandrian laurel.
سورات	(سُورا)	(S. سوہار)	Selfishness.
سرو		سرو	Greed; ambition.
مددھن			Chaplet; garment.
ساو	(Hindi ساڈ)		Opulent; wealthy.
سوسیا			docile; innocent.
			to suffer.

(ھ)

شب پرک	P.	(شہرک)	A bat.
شخنا			to become perplexed; feel doubt.

(ک)

کپار	(S. کوہاں)		Wicked, of bad character.
کندلاں		کندلاں	fine gold.

کولا	ٹولہ		breast, bosom; cheat.
کبھی	کتنے	"	Diverse.
کانڈی			Rafter; beam.
کو		کہ	Say.
کوڑا			Saddle-wood.
کانتے		کا	to spin.
کنڑ			bondsman, slave.
کپڑ			rinkle; fold; notch.
کِن	(S. دن)		a moment.
کوں		کو	to.
مُکت	کوہاتی		stupidity; folly.
کبری	(S. سرخ)		Vice.
			sword.

(۱)

گیات			enmity; to cause destruction.
گوز			A kind of mountain-ox; a deer; a dove.
گست			Fun; play; pleasure.
			The word is still used by common people in the Deccan.

(۲)

کل			close to; as far as.
لکن		لک	hiding place.
لوئی	لوگ	(لوک)	people.
لالن			sweet-heart.
لوسے			iron-plates.

(۳)

من میں من ہونا			to put oneself in accord with.
----------------	--	--	--------------------------------

میت	مات	مِتر	A friend, lover.
شاہ			Sweet-heart; a beloved object.
مندھر		مندر	Mansion.
مواس			refuge; wood.
منْٹر	منْٹر (S. मन्त्र)		a magical formula; a formula sacred to any particular deity.

(پ)

نیچا	با		brought down below.
نک		نک	Nose.
نن (Perhaps S. निमान or Persian)		نم	like as.
زد، از کرنا			to undo; unravel.
نس	(H. निस)		night.
نار نویلی		نویلی	a damsel; a bride.
نار		نری	Contraction of نری women.
نس	(Persian)		intellect; judgment; understanding.

(پ)

کوئی			Deep, dark place.
کوئے		کوڑا	Chick-pea or gram half parched in the pod.
کوڑ			forward, precipitate, rash.
کو		کوئے	to be.
کوئلنا			to pierce.

(پ)

پتا		پتا	so much.
پیاد	(S. एक o आदि)		one or two.
پکنی	(Hindi इकट्ठा)		collected together.

GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BAHRI'S GHAZALIYĀT

Although the Urdu language had been developing long before the birth of Bahri, its grammar was not systematised till after the advent of the Europeans in India.

The grammar of many languages was, for the first time, organised by foreigners who needed definite rules for learning the languages. Similarly the Europeans who came to India for trading purposes were the first to pay serious attention to the Grammar of Urdu and study its technique, because they wanted to learn the language of the people in order to have intercourse with them and to carry on business with them.

John Joshua Kottler was the first European to write a book on the grammar and dictionary of the Hindustani language. He visited the Court of *Sbāh 'Ālam*, the Emperor of India, in 1708 A. D. and *Jahāndār Sbāh* in 1712 A. D. as a Dutch ambassador; later on he was appointed a Commercial Manager by the East India Company and was posted at Surat. He wrote a treatise in Latin on Hindustani Grammar, in 1715 A. D. which was revised and published by David Mill in 1743.

Two years after the publication of this book a missionary named Schilz (?) also published a book on the Grammar of the Hindustani language. He seems to have known Kottler's book. He knew the use of the singular and plural of the personal pronouns; but did not know the use of "ne" which is added to the subject in case of transitive verbs in the past tense.

In most of the old Urdu grammar books the use of "ne" has not been mentioned because in old Deccani Urdu "ne" was not used at all, as we notice in Bahri.

In 1772 Headley published his text book of Urdu grammar. After this several books were written on the Grammar

of the Hindustani language, the most important of which is in Portuguese and is called *Grammatica Hindustan*.

It was published in Lisbon in 1778. It was about this time that Dr. John Gilchrist attempted to put the prose literature of the Hindustani language on a sound basis and himself wrote miscellaneous notes on Urdu grammar.

John Shakespeare's Urdu Grammar was published in London for the first time in 1813.

In 1829 Garcon de Tasse wrote a book on the Principles of the Hindustani language. John F. Platts's Urdu Grammar was published in London in 1874. It is still by far the best of all the Grammars hitherto published. The first Indian who attempted to write anything on this subject was the famous poet of Urdu, *Insbā' Allāh Khān* of Delhi. His book, "Daryāe Latāfat" was written in 1222 A. H. 1807 A. D. during the reign of Navāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. It was first published in Mursidabād in 1848.

In modern times Sir Saiyid Alīmad Khān, Maulavī Alīmad 'Alī Dihlavī and Imām Ba'īsh Shāhbāī have written text books of Urdu grammar on the model of Persian and Arabic grammar.

Maulavī 'Abdul Haqq, and Maulavī Muḥammad 'Isma'il, have more recently published text books of Urdu grammar which are the outcome of their study of the language and its technique.

They have deduced the rules by a careful study of the basic Grammatical principles of the language as it is spoken now. These two books are by far the most reliable and constitute a fairly complete presentation and treatment of the difficulties and irregularities of the language and its predominant grammatical features¹.

From this brief sketch of the development of Urdu grammar from Bahri's time (1664 to 1720 A. D.) upto the present

¹ *Qavaid-i-Urdū* by Maulavī Abdul Haqq, Introduction 1-20 pages (1926 Edition).

day, it will be seen that systematic study of Urdu grammar is of recent growth.

It is not to be wondered at if grammatical irregularities are found in Bahri's work. It is really surprising that so few cases of such irregularities are noticeable in his Ghazaliyāt.

EXAMPLES OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BAHRI'S GRAMMAR AND URDU GRAMMAR TODAY

In ghazal 9, line 3 :— سارت عمر کا میرا جو بے بنیاد نا ہوتا

Both "عمر" and "سارت" are now feminine, but they are used here as masculine;

In the same ghazal, line 4 :— تو مشکل منجھہ یہ ہوتا اگر پولاد نا ہوتا ع اگر خرباد توں کرتا تو تیرا داد نا ہوتا

"مشکل" is now feminine, but here it is wrongly used as masculine;

Ghazal 9, line 5 :— داد is now feminine, but here it is used as masculine;

Ghazal 13, line 5 :— ع حالت اس فردوس کا فردوسیاں کو پوچھنا "حالت" is now feminine. Here it is used as masculine;

Ghazal 27, line 1 :— ع جب کمک کامل ہوا، یعنی کرم منجھہ پیرو کا "کمک" is now feminine, but here it is used as masculine;

Ghazal 28, line 4 :— ع عاشقی کی لاف بھری مت کریں البتہ توں "کریں" "بھری" is a singular subject followed by plural verb "ہے" Now it should be "کی"

Ghazal 33, line 4 :— ع گر سنپولے اچھو و گرسنبل ہے تیرے ڈف کے یہ دو دلآل — For the plural subjects "سنپولے" and "سنبل" singular verb "ہے" is used. Now it would be "ہیں"

Ghazal 33, line 8 :— ع یہیں ہے شرزے کوں تجھے کمر کی خیال "خیال" is used as feminine, now it is masculine;

Ghazal 36, line 1 :— ع سجن کے نین کے نازان نظر بازان کو آتے ہیں Now would be "نائیں" A plural noun is used in the sense of the singular.

“عاشق” now would be عشاق which is the plural of “عشق” جمع الجمیع is عشاق As a rule it is not used

Ghazal 37, line 4 :—

Singular noun سجن is followed by plural verb کپڑے ہیں Now it would be سجن کپڑا ہے

Ghazal 41, line 4 :—

ع یو حقیقت کلا نہ کس پے تام “حقیقت” is now feminine, but here it is used as masculine. Now کلی would be کلی

Ghazal 49, line 2 :—

ع کچھ کو دوا اس درد کا دردان کے سمجھنا ہو ”دوا“ is now feminine, but here it is used as masculine;

Ghazal 56, line 1 :—

ع تجھے دیپھ کیوں نہ منجھ سے نواہار گر پڑے ”منجھ سے“ now would be ”منجھسا“ Here the oblique form is used instead of the nominative.

Ghazal 56, line 2 :—

مستان تو کیوں نہ گر پڑے Here plural subject ”مستان“ is followed by singular verb ”گر پڑے“ Now it would be ”گر“

In the same ghazal, line 3 :—

Now would be

”نے“ the فاعلیت of عالمت is dropped out.

میں اس پے سر نثار کیا
”میں نے سر نثار کیا“

METRES OF 60 GHAZALS

(1) - V -- / - V -- / - V - / - V- / Ramal Maqṣūr

(2) -- V / - V - V / V -- V / V -- / Mużārī

(3) -- V / V -- V / V -- V / V -- / Hazaj Akhrab
Makfūf

(4) -- V / - V - V / V -- V / - V - / Mużārī

(5) V --- / V --- / V -- / Hazaj Musaddas Maqṣūr

(6) -- V - / -- V - / -- V - / -- V - / Rajaz Sālim

(7) -- V / V -- V / V -- V / V -- / Hazaj as in (3)

(8) - V -- / - V -- / - V -- / - V - / Ramal Maqṣūr

(9) V --- / V --- / V --- / V --- / Hazaj Musmman
Salim.

(10) -- V / - V - V / V -- V / - V - / Mużārī as in (4)

- (11) V --- / V --- / V -- / Hazaj Musaddas Maqṣūr
 (12) -- V / - V - V / V -- V / - V - / Mużāri' as in (4)
 (13) - V -- / - V -- / - V -- / - V - / Ramal Maqṣūr as
 in (1)
 (14) -- V / - V - V / V -- V / - V - / Mużāri' as in (4)
 (15) - V -- / - V -- / - V - / Ramal Musaddas Maqṣūr
 (16) V --- / V --- / V -- / Hazaj Musaddas Maqṣūr
 as in (5)
 (17) - V -- / - V -- / - V -- / - V - / Ramal Maqṣur as
 in (1)
 (18) -- V / V - V - / V -- / Hazaj Musaddas Akrab
 (19) -- V - / -- V - / -- V - / Rajaz Salim as in (6)
 (20) V - V - / V V -- / V - V - / -- / Mujtass
 (46) V --- / V -- / V -- / / Hazaj Musaddas
 (47) - V -- / V - V - / -- / / Khafif
 (48) - V -- / - V -- / - V -- / - V - / Ramal Musamman
 (49) -- V - / -- V - / -- V - / -- V - / Rajaz Sālim
 (50) -- V / - V - V / V -- V / V -- / Mużāri'
 (51) - V -- / V - V - / -- / Khafif
 (52) - V -- / - V -- / - V -- / - V - / Ramal Musamman
 (53) - V -- / V - V - / -- / / Khafif
 (54) -- V / V -- V / V -- V / V -- / / Hazaj Akrab
 (55) -- V / V -- V / V -- V / V -- / / Ditto
 (56) -- V / - V - V / V -- V / - V - / / Mużāri'
 (57) - V -- / V - V - / -- / / Khafif
 (58) - V -- / - V -- / - V - / Ramal Musaddas Maqṣūr
 (59) - V -- / - V -- / - V - / / Ditto
 (60) - V -- / V - V / V V - / / Khafif

SECTION V
ARABIC

الداران بدل ما نبيسا اذا انتم صرتم بما مستجوبين عن دينكم وكم^١ من زينه الله تعالى
بلباس العزّ و الشّلة و المنزلة عند الناس حتى يحتسب انه من اهل فقهه و عنايته
و هذا من الله تعالى استدراجه ثم لا يتركه في الاقبال حتى يرده إلى حقائق معلومة
فيبيد و له من الله تعالى مالم يكن يحتسب وكم من زينه الله تعالى با نوع انعام و
لطائف الحكمة و فضائل اللسان و فتوح الشواطئ و ظرافات العبارات حتى يغتر بحسن
بلاغته و كمال فقيهه فيopian و يحتسب انه احاط بهل شيء و بحقيقة فذا له من الله
تعالي استدراجه ثم لا يتركه في احاطته حتى يرده إلى حقائق معلومة و يبدو له من
الله تعالى مالم يكن يحتسب وكم من داع إلى الله تعالى يبعد من الله وكم من مخوف
باليه جهري على الله وكم من ذاكر الله ناس لله فيما رب مستهلك بالسر عليه و يا رب مستدرج
بالنعم عليه و يا رب مقتون بالثاء عليه فإذا كان كذلك فينبغى للعاد أن لا يعتمد على حسن
أوقاته وأن كان صانيا وأن لا يامن على حسنته أن كان خليلها لكم من عذر تراه في ذي
المزيددين وهو في علم الله من المبجودين الطرودين فإن الله تعالى غريب مكرة في حمه
ولطفه وغريب خذلانه في نعمة و أنواع مكره و سخطه في جيل سهوة و قطبيعه في
أمفاله معاشر أخوانى لا يغتركم من الله أظاهاره لكم ما ام تعلموا و سترا عايمكم ما كنتم عليه تجادؤن
و زياسته منه استدراجه لكم و انتم لا تشعرون قال الله تعالى سنستدرجهم من حيث لا يطمون
وقال يحيى بن معاذ الرازى رحمة^٢ الله معاشر المغوردين بالنعم و العصم فلا تغتروا^٣ فإن تحتها
أنواع النعم ومن كانت أوقاته معمورة و سريرة مربوطة لابد له من ظلمة البشرية فالغالفة من حقائق
الأولية و له انس و لا تغتروا^٤ بنعماته عايمكم بعمارة أوقات ذات تحتها من عوامض الآفات و
قال بعض أهلى كلما^٥ ظلنت انى وجدت ذخيئن فقدت وكلما ظلنت^٦ انى فقدت فحيئن
و جدت لا لي منك بد و لا لي معك قرار و لا لي سواك انس فالمستعلن منك و اليك
و هو حسبي و نعم الوكيل و نعم المنيب و نعم التنبير و الله أعلم بالصواب و اليه المرجع و المأب

تنت (sic) كتاب معاوى أهله من تصنيف الإمام العارف العالم القطب الحرة^٧ الصافية
المختبار الأفضل الآئمة الرباني الشيعي الإمام الصديق المستعرق في بحار معرفة الله سبحانه
سيد المشائخ الصوفية و آئية المهدية المعروف بجنيد البغدادي مرشد الشهابي خليفة أسرى
السقى (حمة^٨ الله عليه أجمعين —

¹ Ms. فلوكم ² Ms. رحمة ³ Ms. تغترو ⁴ Ms. ما

⁵ Ms. وجدت ظلنت on the margin with sign of omission in the text. ⁶ Ms. الحرف ⁷ Ms. رحمة

هذا الآية في قوله تعالى كلاماً أنتم عن دين يومئذ لم يحيط بهم - يا معاشر أخوانى لو انتم تركتم الدنيا و انتخرتم بتركها دون الله تعالى فالغدر بترك الدنيا اعظم من الدنيا التي تركتم حتى تركتم ولو انتم خفتم و هو بالنفس و اعجبتم تركها فالعجب أكبر من الذنوب حتى تركتم ما او انتم خفتم و امنتم على انكم خفتم والامن من الخوف اكبر من الخوف في الفساد الذي خفتم من الفساد في الارواح حتى خفتم او انتم توكلتم على الله ثم اكملتم عن توكلهم دون الوكيل حتى توكلتم يكون توكلهم شرارة لانكم أحبابكم واستعفيفتم بالمحبة دون المحبوب يكون محببكم اقبح من عدمها حتى أحبابكم^١ او انتم تربتم واستعفيفتم بقربكم كان رؤيا القرب ابعد البعد و رؤيا الانس في الانس اعظم اوحشة و رؤيا الذكر في الذكر أشد النسيان و رؤيا المعرفة في المعرفة اكبر الحسبان والحزن و رؤيا العطاء في العطاء اعظم الغرابة خاتمة من هالك بالثناء مفتون وبالحسبان مغرور وبالانس مستدرج وبالنعم محجوب عن الله غالباً من نقدان الصدق جاهل بعوائق النفس يصبح^٢ و يمسى على الحسبان غالباً انه من الله تعالى على كل شيء حتى اذا جاء وعدة الاخرة لم يجد شيئاً^٣ و لم يزد دون الحرة و الندامة و بدا له من الله مالم يكن يحتسب^٤ قال الله تعالى و بدا لهم من الله ما لم يكونوا يحتسبون و كم من زين الله تعالى بلباس أوليائه و اهل قربه حتى يحتسب انه من اهل بساطته و صلته و يغتر بعماء اوقاته فندا من الله تعالى استدرج ثم لم يتركه الله تعالى في الاقبال حتى يرده إلى حقائق معلومة و كم من كساه الله تعالى لباس اعدائه و اهل بعده ثم لا يتركه الله تعالى في الاعراض حتى يرده إلى الحقائق المعلومة^٥ لانه هو يبدىء و يعيد يعني يبدى لوليائة^٦ صفات اعدائه و على اعدائه صفات أوليائه حتى يعيدهم إلى حقائق معلومة و هو فعل^٧ لما يريد باضمار فعله على اهل عده و اظهار عده ففي اهل فعله نهذا مسا كدر عيش المربيدين في دار الدنيا و انتفت مزداداتهم لوقفهم موقف مدهوشين ذائب كدهم^٨ و اصرر^٩ الواطنين و ذاتي اطرافهم و تحابيرت عقوابهم طارت افندتهم و قعدوا من بين الظواقيع حتى لا يخاطرون معيهم و اكثراهم عن الخلق مستودون و أكثر الناس عن هذا الخطر العظيم غالباً و عن معرفة آيات الغرفة^{١٠} و الحسبان جاهلون حتى صاروا مفتتحين في جميع الاصناف و الصنفين و بقوا في اودية الخسران فالبعين معاشر الربانين ما ميركم تفتخرن في الفقر و فارق عنكم اذا كان الحق سبحانه تعالى من الدارين يفرركم و ما ينفعكم

^١ احببكم Ms.

^٢ لصبح Ms.

^٣ شيء Ms.

^٤ يحتسب Ms.

^٥ معلومة Ms.

^٦ الوليائة Ms.

^٧ فنال Ms.

^٨ كيد Ms.

^٩ الغرت Ms.

بكل ما فيها عرضت على النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم من غير أن يُحاسبه عليها و لا نقصان مماله عند الله تعالى من المنزلة العليا البرفيعة ذام يقبل و لم يلتفت إليها من معالي همته و كمال مروءته و قال أشبع يوما و أجوع يومين و خرج من الدنيا و لم يشع من خبر الشعير ثلاثة أيام فهذا دد على من يقول أنا من أبناء الآخرة و الحق لي و أنا له هو حبيبي و أنا حبيبه و أنا لا أنظر قبله^١ بالكونيين بكل ماقتهاكم^٢ رأيته يأكل و يشرب و ينام و يضحك و يلعب و يركض و يشقق بالصناف الطيبات يا كل منها أكل لسا و يستخف بكلام الرهق و التقوى ثم يقول الناس بعده على الله و دعوه و يقول هو حبيبي و أنا حبيبه و الحبيب لا يمنع المراد من الحبيب و لا يريد لقب الحبيب أن يحزن^٣ الحبيب و لا ينبغي للحبيب أن يخاف الحبيب و يشقق بشيء دون الحبيب من الصلوة و الصيام و لا للحبيب أن يردد شيئاً عن الحبيب من الخير و لا يمتحنه بالشر الذي يقع في القلوب من قبل الحبيب و غير ذلك خلطوا هذه الكلمات بكلام المعرفة و ينشرونها بين الجهل و أهل الغفلة حتى نفوت قلوب المربيين عنها فانهم أسوء الناس عند الله تعالى و أشد هم نعمة^٤ و ارذلهم جاهة^٥ [و] منزلة أخسهم همة و مروءة فلا أكثر الله في الإسلام منهم و لا زاد في الأولياء مثتهم فهم أشرف الخليقة بعد الكفار معاشر أخوانى لا تقتروا بقولهم و دعاتهم لأن العبد لا يبلغ الدرجة العليا حتى لا يقطع مغادر الدنيا بكل ما فيها و حتى لا يعبر بحر النفس و تلاظم أمواج شهوتها و خفيات آفاتها و أحذروا من غواصات الغرة و الحسبان فان أقل ما تزال اقدام الصديقين عن منازلهم^٦ من الغرة و الحسبان و لاحذروا دوابئ الاغترار بصفاء الاوقات فان تحنته غواصات الافت و كانوا من مولوك على حذر كما حذركم نفسه فقال و يحذركم الله نفسه و قال جل ذكره و اعلموا ان الله يعلم ما في انفسكم فالاحذروا و اذا كان الامر كذلك فلا ينبغي لحد أن يامن من قبل أن يفعل به ما فعل ببابيس زينة بانوار عصمه و هو في سابق علمه من حقائق اللعنة مشى عليه ما سبق منه حتى ظهر عليه في العادة ما ظهر كذلك زينة بلغم بانوار ولادته وهو عند الله من حقائق نعمته و غرق قادون في بحار نعمته و هو عند الله من حقائق سخطة فهم من نعمة قطعت صاحبها عن المنع و هو لا يشعر وكم من ماحب و تبت حسن حجبت دويبة أوقاته عن ديه و هو لا يشعر فان ماحب الحجاب سكران و السكران لا يجد و جع الصفة الا عند الافتاة و حبيب المحجوب عند الله لا ينجو أبداً فمن حلت به هذه المصيبة فقد تلاشت المصائب في جنها و ما شعرت في القرآن و عيدها و لا تديداً أصعب و لا أعظم من

^١ قيله

² Ms. لم

³ Ms. والحنن

⁴ Ms. نعمة.

⁵ حارها

⁶ Ms. منازلهم

أَصْبَتْ مِنْ أَجَابَةٍ^١ الْعَادُ قَالَ نَعَمْ قَبِيلَ مَا هُوَ قَالَ أَنْسَانِي مَا دُونَهُ بِالْكَلِيَّةِ وَ كَانَ يَوْمًا يَأْكُلُ
الْتَفَاجِحَ الْحَامِضَ فَقَبِيلَ لَهُ يَا أَبَا يَزِيدَ يَقُولُ أَنَّهُ يَذْهَبُ^٢ بِالْحَفْظِ فَقَالَ أَنِّي حَفَظْتُ^٣ (بِيْ فِيمَا إِلَيْيَ)
أَنْ نَسِيَّتُ مَا دُونَهُ بِالْكَلِيَّةِ ثُمَّ قَالَ لَكُلِّ شَيْءٍ دُوحُ دُوحُ الْعُرْفَةِ نَسِيَانُ مَا دُونَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
قَبِيلَ لَيْ^٤ شَيْءٌ لَا يُفْتَحُ لِلْعَدُودِ دُوحُ الْعُرْفَةِ قَالَ أَخْلَقَهُ مِنَ الْمُتَحَبِّرِينَ عَنْهُ يَقُولُ مَعْنَى نَسِيَانِ
مَا دُونَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فَطَعَنَ الْعَالِيَّقَ بِدُونِهِ وَالْإِلَيْسَ^٥ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا مَسَا قَالَ أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ الْعَارِفِ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ
عَنْهُ) إِنَّهُمْ مَعَاشُ الْرَّبَانِيِّينَ مَا ذَكَرْنَا مِنْ كَلَامٍ أَنِّي يَزِيدُ دِحْمَهُ اللَّهُ حَسَنَنَا النَّظَرَ وَتَفَهَّمَوْا فِي
مَعْنَى لَخَافِقِ مَسْتَرَاتِهِ وَجَوَاهِرِ مَكْنُونِ عَبْرَاتِهِ وَكَثِيرٌ مِنْ كَلَامَهُ وَحَالَاتَهُ وَأَوْقَاتَهُ كَنْتُ
كَرِهَتْ ذِكْرَهَا غَيْرَةً^٦ عَلَيْهَا حَتَّى لَجَدَ أَهْلَهَا فَلَلَّاشَكَ أَنَّ كُلَّ مِنْ أَطْلَعَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى مَعْنَى
كَلَامِهِ وَقَفَ^٧ عَلَى تَحْقِيقِهِ أَنَّهُ مِنْ عَبَادِ اللَّهِ وَأَمْيَانِهِ عِنْدَهُ — شِعْرٌ

تَسْرِمَدْ وَقْتِيْ فِيكَ فَيْهُ مَسْرِمَدَ^٨ وَأَغْبَيْتَنِيْ مِنِيْ نَصْرَتْ مَسْجِرَدَ^٩
تَفَرَّدْ نَوْعِيْ فَانْفَرَدْتَ بِعَزْقِيْ وَصَوْتَ غَرِيبَاهَا فِي الْبَرِّيَّةِ وَلَهُدَا

الباب العاشر في شأن غوامض أفات الكسبان والغررة

قَالَ أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ الْعَارِفِ (رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ) إِنَّمَا مَعَاشُ الْرَّبَانِيِّينَ أَنَّ قَلْبَ الْعَارِفِ بِحُرْرِ اللَّهِ
الْاعْتَامِ وَأَنَّ مَعَالِيَ الْهَمَّةِ هِيَ الْأَمْوَالُ الَّتِي فِي الْبَحْرِ فَلَا يَزَالُ الْبَحْرُ يَمْوِجُ حَتَّى يَصِيرَ
ذَاكِيَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْغَيْرِ وَالْأَدْعَوْيِ ثُمَّ لَا يَزَالُ الْبَحْرُ يَمْوِجُ حَتَّى يَصِيرَ صَافِيَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْأَرَادَاتِ
الْفَاسِدَاتِ الرِّدِّيَّةِ وَمِنْ جَمِيعِ الشَّهْوَاتِ الْخَسِيسَةِ الْأَدْنِيَّةِ ثُمَّ لَا يَزَالُ يَمْوِجُ حَتَّى يَصِيرَ صَافِيَا
مِنْ جَمِيعِ غَيَّارَاتِ الْأَلْتَفَاقَاتِ مِنْهُ إِلَى مَاسِوَةِ ثُمَّ لَا يَزَالُ يَمْوِجُ حَتَّى يَصِيرَ اِنْفَاسَهُ كَمَا كَانَ وَ
أَوْقَاتَهُ دِحْرَكَاهُ وَأَرَادَاتَهُ كَمَّهُ لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى ثُمَّ لَا يَزَالُ يَمْوِجُ حَتَّى صَارَ كَمَا كَانَ حِيثُ لَمْ يَكُنْ
الْمُتَوَهِّمُونَ وَكَانَ الْحَقُّ تَعَالَى بِلَا كُونٍ فَهُدَا الْقِيَامَةِ الْكَبِيرَى وَالْهَمَّةِ الْعَلِيَّةِ وَالْحَالَاتِ^٧ الْعَلَمِيَّةِ وَلَا يَنْهَا
الْعَبْدُ هَذِهِ السَّنَنَةَ إِلَّا بِالْزَّهَادَاتِ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَمَجَانِيَّةِ عَنْ هَوَاهُ فَهُدَا مَا دَوَى فِي الْأَخْبَارِ أَنَّ الدُّنْيَا

^١ أَجَابَتْ ^٢ هُنْ هَبْ ^٣ غَيْرَتْ ^٤ مَسْ ^٥ سَرْمَدَ ^٦ يَصِيرَ ذَاكِيَا (حَذَرَ) . . . حَتَّى يَصِيرَ

on the margin with sign of omission in the text.

^٧ مَسْ ^٨ قِيَامَةَ . . . هَمَّةَ . . . حَالَاتَ

تعرفه لأن أدنى منزلة العارف إذا علم أنه ليس له شيء سوى الله تعالى أنه لا يكون له اشتغال بغيرة والتفات وطلب فحينهن صارت الاشياء كلها له ومعه إذا فنى [فيكون عنده] كان ليس شيء موجودا^١ و حتى أن دجل قال يا أبي يزيد بلغنا أنك مستجاب الدعوة فقال يا مسكيين أهل الفنلة^٢ رضوا بان يستجاب دعائم و تطوى لهم الأرض ثم قال يا مسكيين^٣ إن الله يستجيب بدعوه لكنه فما ظنك بالمسام و سأله^٤ دجل آخر فقال يا أبي يزيد بلغنى أنك تم على الماء و اليواء فقال يا مسكيين الطير يمر على الماء و اليواء و المؤمن أشرف من الطير و أكرم عند^٥ الله من سبع السموات و الأرضين و العروش و الكرسي و بكل ما دونه و حتى أن أحمد بن حرب بعث إلى أبي يزيد البسطامي رحمة الله عليه مصلى الصلوة فردة إليه وقال للرسول قل لحد^٦ بن حرب أن هذا يصح لمثلك فاني قد جمعت عبادة أهل السموات و أهل الأرض من الأولين و الآخرين ابن الابدين ثم جعلتها في مخنثة^٧ و وضعتها تحت خدي و أنت لا تشعر ثم بعث إليه الرسول مرة أخرى فقال قل له أن القافية قد ارتخت و أنت في السنان و الرائحة فقال أبو يزيد رحمة الله عليه الرجل^٨ كلّ الرجل الذي ينام الليل كله و إذا أصبح أصبح بالمنزل قبل القافية ثم بعث إليه الرسول بوسادة و قال له قل أنك إذا نمت إجعلها تحت داسك فردها إليه و قال قل له من كان هو في وسادة فما يصنع بوسادتك ثم قال مسكيين مسكيين أهل النفل يفتخرؤن بعثرة الاعمال و يعظظونها ذلو أن أهل العزة عملوا أعمال أهل السموات و الأرض من الأزل إلى الأبد يصغر ذاك في أعينهم في جنوب عظامته أصغر من خرداة بين السموات [و] الأرض و حتى أن أبي يزيد رحمة الله عليه قال جهدت ثالثين سنة على أن أرد الخلق إلى الله تعالى فامungkin و لم أقدر على ذاك فبكيت و قالت أبي انك تعلم أن شغلي بخليق حجبي عنك و قد أشتد توجهي عليهم حتى لا أقدر أن أنظر إليهم فما أنت صانع يهم فنودي أن أبي يزيد كم تستغل بخليق عنك و أنا قد فعلت به ما أشار يا أبي يزيد أنت في قدر أن تخلق الخلق و تحيي إلى وحدك قال فتركتم و صرت وحدى إلى بي إذا هم باجتمعهم عنده حاضرون و أنا من ودائهم وأتفق فقلت يا عزيزى الخلاق لك و أنت مالكهم و مالى و التهيف بالدخول بينك وبينهم و كان من عامة دعائهم يقول أساك سوال من لم يعرف بالربوبية لغيرك و عتق من عبودية ما سواك فقيل له هل

^١ Ms. on the margin with sign of omission in the text.

^٢ Ms. الغلات

^٣ Ms. repeated by mistake.

^٤ Ms. مسامه ^٥ Ms. على ^٦ Ms. لا أحمد ^٧ Ms. مخدت

^٨ Ms. (Interlinear note) كامل

فقال أبو يزيد رحمة الله الشهقة الجديدة هي التي لم يكن بينهما حجاب تفرق^١ حتى تحرق و ليس للعارف شيء يمحقه عنه و حتى أن خادم أبي يزيد رحمة الله عليه^٢ قال جات إلى أبي يزيد رحمة الله عليه طائفة من أجيال أهل المعرفة و سأله عميراً بيرى في منامه فقال رأيت في النوم ذاتي دفعت إلى السموات فاجتمع على الملائكة في كل سماء و قالوا يا أبي يزيد إلى متى قنطرة الله تعالى و إنك تذكر الله تعالى إلى الموت فقلت لهم أني لاستحبب من ذي أن يكون ذكرى له دون البد أو يكون ذكرى حد محدود^٤ أو أصل محدود^٥ و هو يقولوا ذكروا الله ذكرنا كثيراً ثم سكت فقال لي^٦ ولحد منهم يا أبي يزيد فتى يعون لك لسان الذكر قال إذا اشتغل أهل النعيم بالنعم والجحدهم بالجحدهم فافهم بين يدي منعم هذه الابدية و أقول بلسان الابدية من الأزل إلى البد الله الله على الصوف بلا علاقة و لا سبب من الأسباب فقتل له يا أبي يزيد زدنا ما رأيت في منامك قال رأيت في النون ذاتي بين يدي رب العزة تعالى و هو يقول لي يا أبي يزيد ما تريد فقلت يا عزيزي أنت المرید أنت المراد لا يريد غيرك ثم بسط لي بساط العطا نوحاً بعد نوع عرض على من الملك ما كلت الالسن عن نعتها ففي كل ذلك كنت غاشت بصري عنها و علمت أنه بها يجريبني فلم التفت إليها أجيلاً لحرمتها و كنت أقول في ذلك يا عزيزي مرادي غير ما تعرض سبحانك ما عذلك و أ JACK لقد أعطيت الأولياء أجرة الدعوة وفتحت عليهم أبواب العفو و الرحمة فرضوا بذلك و انصرعوا عنك سبحانك سبحانك لقد أعطيت أبد لاء سلامه المحدود و مزائد خواص ذلك و انصرعوا عنك فانك إن تمن على أن توفر إياي^٧ ف تكون أنت [كما] كنت أنت في الأزل حيث لم يكن أنت وبين ثم بعد ذلك أمتختني بأمتحان لاقوم به السموات والأرض بما فيها بعد ذلك كان ما كان ثم سكت فقتل له هل قلت شيئاً في أمر الخالق قال عرض على الذرية باجمعهم ذلك نظارت إلى قائم استحبب من الله تعالى أن تكون حاجتي إليه هنا القدر فقاموا من بين يديه محيوتين و قالوا هيات هذا الرجل على أيمه و حتى أن أبو يزيد رحمة الله عليه كان جالساً في المسجد الجامع عند النبر في يوم الجمعة و قد صعد الخطيب المنبر لخطبته فجوى على لسان الخطيب و ما قدر الله حق قدره نسأل الدم من عينيه أجيلاً لبيته و حتى أن دجلاً جاء إلى أبي يزيد قال يا أبو يزيد باي شيء أستعين على مداومة العبادة قال بعرفتك إنه أن كنت

^١ و تفرق.

^٢ Ms. p. 32. Paper of different kind.

^٣ محدوداً.

^٤ Ms. رحمة.

^٥ Ms. محدوداً.

^٦ آمني.

^٧ Ms. قتلون.

ابي يزيد قال دخل دجل على أبي يزيد بلغنى^١ أن عندك الاسم^٢ الاعظم و احب ان تعلمنى ذلک فقال له ابو يزيد رحمة الله عليه ان اسماء الله تعالى كلها من الاعظمين اى عظام و ليس فيها حد محدود و لاسم محدود و لكن فرغ قلبك^٣ لوحدا نية مع توک الاندادية فان كنت كذلك فادع باى اسم شئت فانك تصليه ساعۃ^٤ من الشرق الى المغرب وبه تحبی و تحيت فقال الرجل ايكون^٥ هذا فقال نعم و ليس هذا خطيرا عند اصحاب معالى الہم لان جميع ما دونه كلمة من کلام الله و لكن ان لله^٦ عبادا يقمون^٧ و يقولون حيث لا این حتى يكون ما دون العرش تحت همهم فقال الرجل من هذا فقال من^٨ قام مقام الوصلة^٩ والقرب منه و حتى ان دجل جاء الى ابی يزيد البسطامي رحمة^{١٠} الله قال يا ابی يزيد ان الله تعالى قد اقامني في مقام لا يقوم فيه احد من العارفين فقال له ابو يزيد ما هذا المقام قال سخّر لي ما دون العرش الى الشري فقال له ابو يزيد رحمة الله عليه يا مسيئين^{١١} ادنى ما يجد منه العارفون فالو ان الخلائق كلهم أعطوا ما اعطاك ما نقص من ملكه شيئاً و لا يُعرف الله حق معرفته من يزى کمال العارف بهذا المقدار ثم قال له تم يا منخدوع الله و حتى ان خادم ابی يزيد رحمة الله عليه قال دخل ابو يزيد يوماً في مدينة فادأ قد اجتمعوا عليه الخلائق و هو ساكت فلما نظر على رجالهم منه بيبي و قال لو ان الخلائق عرفوا الله لاشتغلوا^{١٢} بالله عنى ثم قال لهم انى اعوذ بك من ان تتحججني عنك بيه و اعوذ بك من ان تتحججيم عنك بي و حتى ايفا انه قال حجج ابو يزيد و دخل الكعبه و استلم الحجر ثم قام عن المقام و قال الهىكم تتحبسن في الحجب اما لك ترفع الحجاب فنودي ان يا ابا يزيد ليس الحجاب بيننا و بين احبابنا فهو ابو يزيد رضي الله عنه ثم قال بك عليك ان لا تتحججني بك عنك و بي حتى سال الدم من عينيه و حتى ان خادم ابی يزيد رحمة الله عليه قال بينما كنت قاعدا خاف ابی يزيد رحمة الله عليه و كان هو في و قته و حاله اذا شهد شهقة^{١٣} فقلت له بعد ثلاثة أيام يا ابی يزيد رايته منك شيئاً عجيباً قال و ماذاك العجب قلت شهدت شهقة ظننت ان الحجب الذي بينك وبين الله تعالى قد اخترقت

^١ Ms. بلغنى ^٢ Ms. الاسم

^٣ Ms. on the margin with sign of omission in the text.

^٤ Ms. (sa'atin) ^٥ Ms. او يكون ^٦ الله

^٧ Ms. من اى هذا فقال من هذا مقال قام ^٨ Ms. نقومون

^٩ Ms. الصلات ^{١٠} Ms. رحمة ^{١١} Ms. لا تنسنعوا.

^{١٢} Ms. وينخلع من [هيبة] شهقته كاد قلبى أن يتقطع on the margin, but part of the text.

عى دونه ساكتاً و عالمة من عرف الله و علم أنه بالكلية له أن لا يطلب عن الله غيره و هذا ما حكى عن بعضهم قال كنت حاجاً فإذا شاب يقول ألهي قد اجتمع ودك و أنت عالم يوم فبياً أنت صانع يوم فسخ الشاب هاتفاً يقول ودكى كثير و طلبي قليل فصاح الشاب صيحة و خرمغشياً عليه وقال خادم أبي يزيد سمعت شيئاً يحيطنا بمسقط قال رأيت في النهار كان رب العزة يقول الناس كلهم يطلبون متنى أما أبو يزيد فإنه يطلبني أرادنى و أنا أريده و قال يوسف بن أسياط من لا يرى أن حراته و سكاناته لله^١ تعالى سجد لم يسجد لله و من عرف الله في قلبه هم رسول الله عليه السلام لم يعرف الله و سئل بعض العارفين كيف حالك قال كيف حال من يكون يopian^٢ أنه قد صار عنه مفقوداً فإذا هو به موجوداً فيه أشارات^٣ و عبارات^٤ لا يطلع علينا ألا من صفا بسراة عن غبارة البشرية و سقط عنده رؤية ما سواه و صار من جملة المحجودين من عبودية^٥ مأساة ذلو لا معرفتنا باهل زماننا و ضعف يقينهم و قلة معرفتهم لذكرنا بشرح من لسان أهل معالي ألمة ما هو أعلى منها و لكن يكتفى العارف بدرن ما ذكرنا عن أعلاها — شعر

أهل الخصائص مصطفون بقربه أدناهم^٦ من سالف الازمان
اختارهم من قبل نطرة خلقهم فهم ودانع حكمة و بيان

أدب التاسع في كلام أبي يزيد البسطامي و حمته الله عليه و حسن أو قاته و معالي همتة

قال أبو القاسم العارف رضي الله عنه أعلموا معاشر الربانيين إن أبي يزيد رحمة الله عليه كان آية من آيات الله و أني نظرت في كتاب الجلاء و أهل الهيئة و آلة الهدى من السلف و قد ثرأت ما حاجت به رسونه خواطركم فما رأيت كلاماً أعلى من كلام أبي يزيد رحمة الله عليه لأن مطالع كلامه مماليح العرفة و دوح اليقين و عيون الصفاء و بحر الوداد و كنوز التوحيد و التفريج و كل من أطلع الله تعالى على عرفان^٧ كلامه على حقيقة فلا شك أنه من أخص عباد الله و أتقاهم عند[٨] خاتمة في هذا الزمان فله الحمد ما هو أله و حتى أن خادم

^١ Ms. ^٢ Ms. ^٣ Ms. ^٤ Ms. ^٥ Ms. ^٦ مبوديات.

و خدارهم where is superfluous.

^٧ Ms. ^٨ Ms.

سبحان الله من ذئن قلوب المربيين بنور معرفته و سقاها من شراب محبته و نورها بسماء يحيى حكمة^١ و انتقام لسانهم باشارات لا يدركها الا من اصم اذنيه عن الطالع و اعمى عينيه عن الشهوات و اخرس لسانه عن الكلام بالفصولات و قال بعضهم قلوب اهل المعرفة خرائط الله تعالى في اوفه يضع فيها^٢ سرة و طائف حكمته و حثائق محبته و انوار علمه و امانة معرفته و قال يحيى بن معاذ القلوب كالقدور و مغارفها للسان و ان كل لسان يغترف^٣ ما في قلبه و قال حامد العارف ما كلامت احدا من الناس الا و قد دعوته الى الله ثم كلامته الا ابا يزيد فانى ما اردت ان اكلمه الا و قد دعوته من الله ثم كلامته و قال سرى السقطى^٤ رحمة الله عليه من قلم على و فاء صدق العبودية غير علاقه سقاها الله شربة من عين المحبة و يبلغه الى^٥ مقصد الصدق الذى عند مليك مقتدر و قال العبد اذا ورد^٦ بالسر الى الحضرة^٧ ففتح عين الهمة بقوه اجهان صدق الارادة و سلم بياض التجريد و سواد التفريد فينظر بنور اليقين و المعرفة الى الله بلا شبه و لا كيف قال أبو القاسم رضي الله عنه اعلموا ان الرواية على الوجبين روية القلب بمشاهدة^٨ الايقان و روية العين^٩ بمشاهدة الاعيان^{١٠} وهذا ما سأله عن محمد بن جعفر الصادق رحمة الله عليه هل رأيت الله عز و جل قال لم اكن اعبد ربا لم ازده فقيل كيف رأيته^{١١} و هو الذى لا تدركه الابصار بمشاهدة الاعيان قال ابصرة القلب بشاهدة الايقان لا بحسنه من الحواس كالاحساس بالناس و اعلموا ان القلوب كلما نظرت الى الله تعالى بعين اليقين و المعرفة سقط عنها روية ما سواه و فنى عنها صفات الانسانية من غير ان يسقط عنده الانسانية و بما غلت عليه روية المنة^{١٢} فتفنى روية الاعمال من غير ان يسقط عنده الاعمال و ربما غلت عليه سروره عن وجده فيفنى عنه روية الثواب من غير ان يسقط عنده الثواب و ربما غلت عليه ذكر الله تعالى من غير^{١٣} ان ينساه او يسقط عنه ذكرة و ربما طار سره بجنة اهمة نحو الحق سبحانه و تعالى الى ان ورد الحضرة^{١٤} ثم ارتكب عن المعرفة على سبيل ترك التعاليم من غير ان يسقط عنده المعرفة و ربما كل لسانه تحت سلطان الحق سبحانه و تعالى من غير^{١٥} ان يسقط عنده المعرفة فهو صفة من صار عند الحق سبحانه و تعالى بالقلب حاضرا و عما دونه غائبا و منه تربينا و عما دونه بعيدا و به ناطقا

^١ حكمة^٥ رحمة^٩ المشاهدة.¹¹ العيان¹⁵ الحضرة^٢ فيها⁶ ان¹⁰ which is superfluous.¹² ارأته¹⁶ غير^٣ يغترف.⁷ دود¹³ المنت¹⁷ ارأته¹⁸ غيرها^٤ القليل⁸ الحضرة¹³ الملة¹⁴ غر.

الباب الثامن في شرف كلام الاجلاء وأئمة الهدى في معالي الاهى

قال أبو القاسم العارف رضي الله عنه أعلموا معاشر الربانيين في كلام الاجلاء وآئمه الاهى في معالي آئمته هي بيان معرفة تمييز الانتمال من الانتمال و معرفة تمييز الاسباب الشاغلة عن الله تعالى من الاسباب الشاغلة بالله تعالى و الداعي إلى الله تعالى من الداعي عنه و عرقان حركات هيجان الصائم و طيران اليواء في سرارات القرب و كشف ما يشاهد السرّ من ملاحظة الحق تعالى و بيان معاملة العبد من مدق الحال و صفاء الوقت و صحة الارادة و انفراد الكلية للحق^١ تعالى مع الانقطاع عما دونه و تجريدة بالكلية عن الكل في التصد إليه و غير ذلك من معاملة القلوب و لا يكون معرفة الانتمال بدون معرفة الاسباب الشاغلة عنه و الاسباب الشاغلة به [و] بدون معرفة الداعي إليه و معرفة الداعي عنه و كذلك القلوب لا يتشرف على عرقان حركات هيجان الصائم عند تلاطم امواج بحادر خواطر القلوب الذي لا يحصى عددها و لا ينقطع مدها الا بنسیان ما دون الحق تعالى و لا يطلع على حسن معانينا و لائق شرحها الا من كشف عن سرة الحجب التي بينه وبين محبوبه و هذه التي علينا جميعاً دودان كلام ائعنة من اهل آئمته في الاولين والآخرين فاذما فتح العارف فما ابهان ما ذكرنا من العبارات و شرحها فاغتنموها و اعترفوا شرناها لانيا ودانع من الله تعالى سرت^٢ في قلوب اهل المعرفة فینما قال يحيى بن معاذ الرازى رحمة الله عليه قلوب تعدد أليه بالكلية فاردعها الله ودانع سرة و قال أبو سليمان الخواص انكم تركتم الله يبغضكم على بعض قلوب اقلهم أليه رأيتم العجائب ما عجزتم عن و منها فذهب اهل آئمته بصفات القرابة و بقى الطالون في سواري الغنة و قال يحيى بن معاذ لقيت اصحابه فوجدت أكثرهم مناسبين يفتقرن من كيس^٣ غيرهم و دوى في الأخبار ما من مومنين يلتقيان فینذكون في الله لله بالله فما يتقربان حتى يكون ايمان^٤ من الله عزوجل المزيد من معرفته و يقال كلام اشد المعرفة كنز من كنوز المعرفة ابداية من كنوز المعرفة و معدناها قلوب العارفين و ترجمانها اللسان فامر الله تعالى لقتل المعرفة بان ينتفوا منها على اهيا قوله تعالى ادع الى سبيل ربك بالحكمة و الموئنة الحسنة - و قال ابو القاسم العارف رضي الله عنه يا عبد الله فرع و ديعتك عند الله و هي فكرة ثانية فيففع ودانعه عندك و هي الحكمة و هو خير كثير و قال بعثيم

يحدث المعرفة عند ابناء الآخرة فكيف عند ابناء الدنيا ثم ينبعى لمن اراد ان يتكلم بكلام اهل الهمة ان يتكلم من ابناء قلب كما قال ابو يزيد من تكلم بكلام اهل المعرفة يحتاج ان يكون له نور المعرفة ويقال اذا كانت الاوقات مع الله صحيحة فجميع الالسن معه صحيحة يقال ان الله تعالى اعلى العارفين الالسن كلامها حتى انه ينطق بكل لسان حتى في المعرفة لسان وفي لسان الشريعة له لسان وفي لسان الحجۃ له لسان وفي لسان الافتخار له لسان وفي لسان الافتخار له لسان ثم كُلَّت تلک الالسن وتلاشت في سلطان الحق ثم تلاشت في صفاته فندا عبد ناطق ساكت حاضر غائب و ايضا ينبعى ان يحفظ موضع كلامه لأن لكل مقام مقالة وكل مقالة اثلا و ان لا يحصل فوق اطلاقة ولا يمنع عن اهل الحاجة لأن العمل فوق اطلاقة ظلم والمنع عن اهل الحاجة بضل فذا مادوى ان عيسى عم [قال] يا ماحب الحكمة كن كالطبيب الناصح يضع الدواء حيث ينفع و يمنع من حيث يضر لا تضع الحكمة في غير أهليها فتكون جائلا و لا تمنعها من أهليها فتكون ظالما و لا تكشف سرّك عند كل أحد فتتبرىء مقتضها و ايضا ينبعى له أن يحفظ ادب كلامه و يعظم محله و مراته و يعرف قدره و منزلته لأن يقال تعظيم الكلام خير من كثرة الكلام و يقال السالم اذا لم يحفظ ادب كلام و لا يعرف محله و شبهته عند من ليس باهله صار اصم و ابكم و اعمى يعني يسلب منه [قوة نطقه] فيبقى اصم و ابكم و اعمى خبذا عقوبة لتركه الادب و اذا حفظ ادب كلامه و تعظيمه نطق بها كل عفو منه حتى يصير ناطقا في سنته حاضرا في مغيبه كرامة لحفظ ادبه و اعلموا ان من ادب الكلام أن يكون كلامك مع اهل المعرفة في لسان اهل المعرفة و مع اهل الزهد باسان اهل الزهد و مع اهل التوحيد بلسان اهل التوحيد و كذلك مع كل صنف من الفقهاء والادباء وغيرهم فينبعى له ان لا ينشى السر الذي يبينه و يبين حبيبه عند كل أحد لأن من انشى سر محبوبه صار من المقصودين و هو لا يشعر و يبقى في ضلالات الخذلان ابد الابدين عقوبة لشفته و حتى ان ذا النوع المصري (رحمه الله تعالى عليه) قال (آيات رجلاً أسود وهو يطوف حول البيوت و يقول بصوتٍ خفي أنت أنت و لا يزيد على ذلك اللفظ شيئاً آخر) قال قد نوت منه و قلت أى شيء عنيت به فأنشد يقول

بين السحبين سر ليس يفشيه خط و لا قلم عنه فيحكيه
بـ مقابل أنس [أن] ييازجه نور فيخبره عن ^{بعض ما فيه}
[فقلت زدنى قال قلوب قصدت أليه بكلية] ^{فأودعها الله و دأفع سورة} —

¹ Ms. adds these words on the margin. ² پخته. ³ مس.

جنازة من الرجال و النساء و حتى أن رجلا تصد إلى أبي يزيد رحمة الله عليه بعد العصر يسأله شيئاً من الحباء و هو في بيته له و له خادم جالساً على الباب فاستأذن بالدخول عليه فقال الخادم ليس وقت الدخول عليه قال أليس قد أمرك أن لا تمنعني عنه إذا أتيت وكان يلعن عليه حتى فتح الباب فإذا أتيت كأنه أملاً منه فزع و دفع ثم أتي اليوم الثاني فاستأذن بالدخول عليه مثل ذلك يلعن عليه حتى فتح له الباب فإذا هو ذائب حتى لم يبق منه إلا خيال ولما كله الرجل ذائب حتى صار بين يديه^١ كلام الواقف في الهواء فزع الرجل و دفع ثم سأله الخادم عن تلك الحالات فقال الحال الأول الذي أتيت منه حال السرور به و الحال الثاني حال الحباء منه وأيام الواقف بين يديه في الهواء فهو كله ذائب حتى صار كما دأبت فقال الرجل ما أنتصع لسان الحال و حتى أن الليث المصري كان له لحن و [هو] كان بباب الاسكندرية قلماً قدّم عليه قال أين كنت فقال اتبثت على [بني] فقال له فلين فوائد الاقبال فدهش ولم يجب شيئاً فقال له الليث إن العبد إذا أتبث على الله تعالى لصدق الإرادة يمنعه الله تعالى فوائد لم يحضر على قلب بشر من كثرة عجائبيها و لم يضرع^٢ سمع إنسان لغرايتها و يقال كلام الحال سهل الله النافذة و لم يكن سهلاً يختلي إذا [هي] سُئل بعض العارفين متى يكون الرجل ناطقاً ساكتاً و حاضراً غائباً [و] موجوداً مفقوداً قال اللسنة كلما نحلقت بالحق للحق كلت عما دون الحق سبحانه و تعالى و القلوب كلما وددت الحضرة صارت غائبة عما دون الحق تعالى و الأسرار كلما وجدت الحق تعالى صارت مفقودة عما دون الحق تعالى و يقال العارف كلما سكت عن لسان^٣ المقال صارت كليته ناطقة بلسان الحال و لسان الحال أنتصع من لسان المقال لا أذرى أى الحوال للعارف أحسن بخلة من كلام أهل المعرفة أم سخونة من كلام أهل الزهد و التقوى و سؤل بعض العارفين كيف حالك قال كيف من إذا تكلم على حاله هلك و إذا سكت احترق و يقال العارف من إذا سأله عن [شيء]^٤ يجيبك بلسان الحال قبل لسان المقال و سؤل بعض العارفين متى يعرف الرجل أنه على صفاء الحال قال إذا لم يرض بالحال دون ولـي الحال لأن من [ضى] بالحال دون ولـي الحال بقى عن صفاء الحال و حجب بالحال عن محـولـ الحال ثم يذهبـ أيـضاـ أنـ يكونـ عـارـضاـ بـاجـناسـ الـخـالـقـ وـ اـخـلـافـ نـيـاـتـهـ وـ ضـرـوبـ اـرـادـةـهـ وـ صـنـوفـ مـنـازـلـهـ وـ مـقـدـارـ فـهـمـ وـ هـتـمـ لـكـ يـهـتـدـواـ^٥ وـ لـمـ يـتـحـبـرـواـ فـهـذاـ ماـ قـالـ ذـوـالـنـونـ رـحـمـهـ اللهـ ماـ دـأـبـتـ لـمـحـدـدـ قـوـمـ وـ لـمـ يـكـنـ عـارـضاـ بـمـقـدـارـ عـقـلـهـ وـ فـهـمـ وـ اـرـادـةـهـ وـ نـيـاـتـهـ وـ هـمـهـ وـ صـنـوفـ مـنـازـلـهـ لـأـكـانـ ذـلـكـ عـلـىـ بـعـضـهـ فـتـنـةـ وـ يـقـالـ لـيـسـ مـنـ حـقـيـقـةـ الـعـرـفـةـ لـنـ

و أصل الطريقة هي قطع العلاقة بدون الله تعالى و أصل النتوء انتقطاع القاب إلى الله تعالى مع اليأس عن كل ما سواه و أصل المروءة انفراد السر بالفرد للفرد جل جلاله و تقدس أسماء [٨] و حتى أن أبي سعيد الخراز^١ رحمة الله عليه قال كنت في الباردة أمسى^٢ فاصابني جوع شديد و طالبته نفسى أن أسأل الناس الذين^٣ كانوا في الباردة شيئاً فقلت لها ما هنأ من فعل المستوكلين و أهل الصيانت فم طالبته نفسى بان أسأل الله شيئاً فقلت لها ما هذا من فعل الصديقين و أهل الطريقة فم طالبته نفسى بان أسأل الله الصبر على هذا الفر فاذأنا بهاتف يقول أذيعين^٤ انه مني^٥ قريب الاجر فقال و أنا لا نقيع امن اثنا [كانا لا نرآه و لا يرآنا فانيها أبوسعيد صوتة^٦] و الله اعلم بالصواب و اليه المرجع و المأب

الباب السابع فيما ينبعى لكل من أراد أن يتكلم بكلام أهل الهمة

قال أبوالقاسم العارف رضى الله عنه أعلموا معاشر الربانيين أنى نظرت فى كلام الإجلاء من أهل الهمة وأنة الهدى من أهل السلف فيما هاج من دسون خواطرهم من لطائف الاشارات و دقائق العبارات فذا هي ودائع من الله تعالى سرية الى قلوب أهل المعرفة التي لا يعرفها على التحقيق لأننى مرسل على قدر نوته او صدق مقرب على قدر قربة من الله تعالى او عاقل فطن على قدر عقلة [و] فطنته ينبعها^٧ من عين الوحدانية التي تقشعر منها جنود السقين و تحترق بها أكباد المحبيين و تطير إليها أندية المزیدين و تستأنس بها ادراح المنبيين [وتسكن] بها^٨ قلوب العارفين فينبعى لكل من أراد أن يتكلم بكلام أهل الحال [فيتكلم بلسان الحال] لأن لسان الحال افضل من لسان المقال فهذا ما حتى أن يحيى بن معاذ الرازى رحمة الله عليه كان يوماً من الأيام وجد حالاً من الخوف فلما اجتمع^٩ الناس على مجلسه فقام بيدهم و يكلمهم من حالة و كان أول كلام يقول أخذت نار^{١٠} بيدي أشعلتها^{١١} في كبدى إلى من أشتكى يا سيدى بيدى أحرقت نفسى ثم قال أليوم يوم حيرتى أليوم يوم فاتتني و قال الكلمات مثل ذلك حتى أن أهل المجلس أخذوا في الصياح و مزقوا ثيابهم و خر مغشياً أكثرهم و يقال لما فرغ يحيى بن معاذ من كلامه رفعت من مجلسه ثلاثة عشر

^١ الحراز Ms.

^٢ يمشي Ms.

^٣ أنا Ms.

^٤ ويزع عم Ms.

^٥ متى Ms.

^٦ لا نرآها و يرآنا Ms.

^٧ ففهم أبوسعيد صوتة كانوا لا نرآها و لا يرآنا Ms.

^٨ إليها Ms.

^٩ اجتمع Ms.

^{١٠} نار Ms.

^{١١} أشعلتها Ms.

ادع كرم نفسى و هستيا و أن كان هو يترك^١ الصيانة فاني لا أترك الجبود و حكى و أن الحسين بن على رضى الله عنهمما قال كنت بين يدي أبي عبدالله قد قرأت عليه بعض الكتب و كان في يده سكين فرأيت حرفاً خطأ فقلت يا أبا عبدالله ناولني السكين فدعنا إلى ذمام تقييـت الحاجة و ددتها إليه فقال يا أبا على لا تعد إلى هذه المسئلة مرة أخرى فتفقـع إلى منزلة السؤال و خسـاسة الهمة و حكى أن يـاولـوـالـجـنـونـ كـلـ لـاـ يـاخـذـ شـيـئـاـ مـنـ أـحـدـ وـ لـاـ حـسـواـ عـلـيـهـ فـقـيلـ لـهـ فـيـ ذـاكـ نـقـالـ أـمـرـنـاـ لـأـنـ لـاـ نـاخـذـ بـالـوـاسـطـةـ لـأـنـ مـنـهـ ذـهـابـ الـهـمـةـ فـقـيلـ لـهـ ثـمـ أـبـيـةـ نـقـالـ آـدـنـاـهـ لـأـنـ لـاـ يـكـونـ لـكـ بـغـيرـالـهـ حـاجـةـ وـ لـوـسـلـيـاـ لـأـنـ تـرـكـ حـوـايـجـ وـ تـدـبـرـ وـ مـصـلـحـتـكـ إـلـيـهـ وـ أـعـلـاهـ لـأـنـ لـاـ تـنـقـتـ مـنـهـ إـلـىـ مـاـسـوـاـ وـ حـكـىـ أـنـ حـمـادـ الـقـرـشـيـ قـالـ كـنـتـ حـاجـاـ فـارـدـتـ الـتـلـيـةـ فـاـخـذـتـ مـنـدـيـلاـ مـنـسـخـاـ وـ غـسلـتـهـ وـ قـطـعـتـهـ بـنـصـفـيـنـ وـ أـنـذـرـتـ بـنـهـفـ مـنـهـ وـ أـرـتـدـيـتـ بـالـأـخـرـىـ ثـمـ تـنـازـعـنـيـ نـفـسـيـ بـعـضـ الـحـاجـةـ فـاـذـاـ بـالـبـادـيـةـ كـاـيـاـ فـقـمـتـ عـيـنـيـ عـنـهـ وـ قـاتـلـ الـلـيـمـ أـنـ أـعـوـدـ بـكـ مـنـ أـرـادـةـ سـوـاـكـ فـمـقـيـتـ وـ لـمـ التـفـتـ إـلـيـهـ ثـمـ قـاتـلـ الـلـيـمـ لـجـعـلـنـيـ مـنـ لـاـ يـوـثـرـ عـلـيـكـ شـيـئـاـ^٢ عـلـىـ حـيـكـ فـانـكـ نـعـمـ الـمـوـلـىـ وـ نـعـمـ الـنـصـيـرـ وـ فـقـيلـ لـلـحـسـنـ الـبـوـاجـرـيـ إـلـىـ^٣ شـيـءـ تـعـامـتـ مـنـ أـبـيـ^٤ عـبـدـالـلـهـ فـيـ ثـلـثـيـنـ سـنـةـ قـالـ أـنـ لـاـ أـسـأـلـ النـاسـ شـيـئـاـ وـ لـاـ تـعـرـضـ وـ لـاـ عـرـضـ عـلـىـ شـيـءـ لـاـ قـبـلـ مـنـهـ فـقـيلـ وـ مـاـ الـطـرـيـقـةـ قـالـ أـنـ لـاـ سـأـلـ مـنـ اللـهـ غـيـرـهـ [ـفـقـيلـ] وـ مـاـ الـرـوـءـ قـالـ^٥ أـنـ لـاـ أـكـنـىـ عـنـهـ بـالـدـارـيـنـ يـكـلـ مـاـ فـيـسـاـ وـ حـكـىـ أـنـ دـاؤـ الـطـائـيـ دـحـةـ اللـهـ عـلـيـهـ مـوـرضـ وـ لـزـمـ جـوـفـ الـبـيـتـ مـدـةـ فـقـيلـ لـهـ لـاـ لـتـشـتـىـ شـيـئـاـ فـقـسـلـ مـنـاـ فـقـالـ أـنـ لـاـ سـتـحـبـيـ مـنـ اللـهـ تـعـالـىـ أـنـ يـرـلـنـيـ وـ أـنـ أـسـأـلـ الـحـاجـةـ مـنـ غـيـرـهـ لـأـنـ مـنـهـ ذـهـابـ الـصـيـانـةـ فـقـيلـ فـلـوـ سـأـلـتـ اللـهـ تـعـالـىـ أـنـ يـكـشـفـ عـنـكـ هـذـهـ الـعـلـةـ قـالـ أـنـ اللـهـ تـعـالـىـ اـخـتـارـ لـىـ هـذـهـ الـعـلـةـ مـعـ عـامـهـ وـ كـمـ اـطـلـهـ وـ رـحـمـتـهـ عـلـىـ وـ أـنـ أـسـتـحـبـيـ مـنـهـ أـنـ يـكـونـ أـخـتـيـارـ غـيرـاـخـتـيـارـ فـاـلـهـ أـلـحـمـ فـيـسـاـ يـشـادـ وـ لـهـ الـحـمـدـ عـلـىـ كـلـ مـاـ تـشـفـيـ فـقـيلـ لـهـ لـوـ خـرـجـتـ أـلـىـ صـحـنـ الدـارـ حـتـىـ تـهـبـ عـلـيـكـ الـرـيـصـ وـ الـهـوـاءـ قـالـ أـنـ لـاـ سـتـحـبـيـ^٦ مـنـ اللـهـ تـعـالـىـ أـنـ يـرـلـنـيـ وـ اـطـلـبـ الـرـاحـةـ لـنـفـسـيـ اوـ اـسـكـنـ أـلـىـ شـيـءـ دـوـنـهـ بـعـدـ مـعـرـفـتـيـ لـهـ^٧ ثـمـ قـالـ سـئـلـ عـنـ الـهـمـةـ وـ مـعـالـيـهاـ قـالـ أـنـهـ مـقـسـوـمـةـ عـلـىـ الـنـفـسـ وـ الـرـوـحـ وـ الـقـلـبـ وـ الـسـرـ زـاماـ سـبـيلـ الـنـفـسـ إـلـىـ الـهـمـةـ حـسـنـ الـصـيـانـةـ عـلـىـ بـسـاطـ الـتـجـريـدـ وـ أـمـاـ سـبـيلـ الـرـوـحـ إـلـىـ الـهـمـةـ حـسـنـ الـطـرـيـقـةـ عـلـىـ بـسـاطـ الـتـجـريـدـ وـ أـمـاـ سـبـيلـ الـقـلـبـ إـلـىـ الـهـمـةـ حـسـنـ الـفـتوـةـ [ـعـلـىـ] بـسـاطـ الـتـصـدـيقـ وـ أـمـاـ سـبـيلـ الـسـرـ إـلـىـ الـهـمـةـ حـسـنـ الـرـوـءـ عـلـىـ بـسـاطـ الـتـحـقـيقـ فـاـصـلـ الـصـيـانـةـ قـطـلـ الـطـمعـ عـنـ الـخـلـاقـ

¹ Ms. ترك² Ms. ثم لا³ Ms. ولا شيئاً⁴ Ms. إلى⁵ Ms. إلى⁶ Ms. فـقـيلـ⁷ Written on the margin; in the text a word struck off, over which has been written بـدـلـ : ⁸ Ms. لم

قال يا عيسى قلوا ان قلبى تسكن الى غيره من احد و تعلق بشىء دونه لظننت انى ما عرفت الله حق معرفته طرفة عين فبلى عيسى عليه السلام و قال هنیناً لك بقرب الله و انه قال ابو القاسم العارف و مرونته^١ لانها ديانية فردانية صدانية دوحانية علوية ديمومية قدسية بل هي لحظة برقة و لعنة و قتيبة و وديعة سرية التي^٢ منه بدت و اليه تعود فلا يدرك كمالها و شرقيها غير الله تعالى لان كمال العارف احترائه بحبه لربه قال الشاعر انى لا فشك و الشاء يسترق و انا ضحكنا ذق و مختلف

أبواب السادس في صيادة العارفين و طريقتهم و معالمهم

قال ابو القاسم العارف (ضى الله عنه) اعلموا معاشر الربانيين الصيانة و الطريقة شعبتان من شعب المعرفة و هما زمامان للعبد الى كل تحقيق و هما مزوجان بالحياة و الحرمـة و هما محلان الله عـز و جـل فـى الارض يقطع بهـما العـبد من قـلبـه جـمـيع التـعـالـيـقـ فـاـصـلـ الصـيـانـةـ قـطـعـ الـطـبعـ منـ النـاسـ فـى جـمـيعـ الـحـوـائـجـ حـتـىـ لاـ يـسـأـلـ مـنـهـ شـيـئـاـ فـامـاـ قـطـعـ الـطـبعـ مـنـ اللهـ أـنـ لـاـ يـسـأـلـ مـنـ اللهـ غـيرـهـ وـ أـصـلـ الـطـرـيقـ تـقـوـيـضـ جـمـيعـ الـأـمـورـ إـلـىـ اللهـ تـعـالـىـ فـىـ الـأـرـضـ بـقـطـعـ بـهـ جـمـيعـ الـمـصالـحـ حـتـىـ لـاـ يـسـأـلـ مـنـهـ شـيـئـاـ فـامـاـ قـطـعـ الـطـبعـ مـنـ النـاسـ فـىـ جـمـيعـ الـحـوـائـجـ هـوـ مـاـ (وـىـ ثـوـبـانـ أـنـهـ قـالـ كـانـ دـوـسـوـلـ اللهـ صـلـىـ اللهـ عـلـيـهـ وـ سـلـمـ يـوـمـ يـقـولـ مـنـ يـتـقـبـلـ لـىـ بـوـاحـدـ تـقـبـلـ لـهـ دـوـسـوـلـ ٣ـ اللهـ أـكـبـرـ قـلـتـ مـاـ ذـاـ^٤ـ يـاـ دـوـسـوـلـ اللهـ فـقـالـ لـاـ تـسـأـلـ النـاسـ شـيـئـاـ فـكـانـ ثـوـبـانـ كـلـاـ سـقـطـ سـوـطـةـ مـنـ يـدـهـ لـاـ يـقـولـ لـاـ حـدـ نـاـولـنـىـ أـيـاهـ بـلـ يـذـلـ وـ يـرـقـعـ وـ قـيـلـ لـبـعـضـ الـعـارـفـينـ هـلـ لـكـ أـيـنـاـ حـاجـةـ قـالـ أـنـىـ لـاـسـتـحـبـيـ مـنـ اللهـ أـنـ أـسـأـلـ مـنـهـ حـاجـتـىـ وـ هـوـ يـمـلـكـهاـ فـيـفـ أـسـأـلـ مـنـ لـاـ يـمـلـكـهاـ وـ حـكـىـ أـنـ جـمـاعـةـ مـنـ الزـهـادـ دـخـلـوـاـ^٥ـ يـوـمـاـ عـلـىـ رـابـعـ الـبـصـرـيـةـ وـ فـيـهـ سـفـيـانـ الثـوـرـيـ رـحـمـةـ^٦ـ اللهـ عـلـيـهـ فـرـأـواـ لـهـ حـالـةـ دـرـةـ فـقـالـوـاـ لـهـ لـمـ لـاـ تـسـأـلـيـنـ أـلـىـ بـعـضـ مـوـالـيـكـ حـتـىـ يـعـلـوـكـ شـيـئـاـ عـلـىـ قـدـرـ خـرـجـهـ عـلـيـكـ تـقـالـتـ وـالـلهـ أـنـىـ لـاـسـتـحـبـيـ مـنـ اللهـ أـنـ تـسـأـلـ مـنـهـ أـلـدـنـيـاـ وـ هـوـ يـمـلـكـهاـ فـيـفـ أـسـأـلـ مـنـ لـاـ يـمـلـكـهاـ ثـمـ قـالـتـ حـقـ لـسـ أـغـرـةـ اللهـ بـعـرـفـتـهـ أـنـ لـاـ يـذـلـ نـفـسـهـ بـدـونـهـ وـ لـاـ يـلـقـتـ مـنـهـ أـلـىـ غـيرـهـ أـجـلاـ لـحـرـمـتـهـ وـ نـوـأـلـاـ لـعـرـفـتـهـ ثـمـ قـالـتـ لـوـ لـاـ مـعـرـفـتـيـ بـكـمـ لـسـخـطـتـ عـلـيـكـمـ وـ نـجـيـتـ^٧ـ عـنـ وـ حـكـىـ أـنـ (جـلـ جـاءـ أـلـىـ سـفـيـانـ الثـوـرـيـ فـسـأـلـهـ قـطـعـةـ قـاعـطـاـ دـيـنـارـاـ قـيـلـ لـهـ فـيـ ذـلـكـ قـالـ أـنـ كـانـ هـوـ لـاـ يـعـرـفـ قـدـرـ نـفـسـهـ وـ قـيـمـتـهـ فـانـ لـاـ

¹ Ms. هـرـوـيـةـ

⁵ Ms. دـخـلـوـ

² Ms. أـتـىـ

⁶ Ms. رـحـمـةـ

³ Ms. دـوـسـوـلـ

⁷ Ms. وـ يـحـتـكـ

⁴ Ms. أـنـاـ

نعم الوكيل و نعم النصير و حكى أن يحيى بن معاذ الرازى رحمة الله يقول لو أن الله أدخلنى النار احب إلى مع هذه العرق من أن يدخلنى الجنة فتليل و لم ذلك قال حتى يتبيّن للخلق أن برة مع العارفين في النار أكثر من برة على من في الجنة مع العالسين لأنه هو الملك الذي صير الجنة على آدم سختنا و النار على ادراهمي بستاننا و قال أبو بكر الواسطى رحمة الله أعلم أن وقت العارفين في النار أطيب من وقت العامل في الجنة مع ثوابه قال أبو إسحاق السجستاني رحمة الله فالرجل كل الرجل الذي يحبه في الجحيم و أنا تخاف النار على من نسي الموى قوله تعالى فذوقوا بما نسيتم لقاء يومكم هذا و قال أبو أاهيم بن ادهم عندي جناح بعوضة^١ بعد ما وهبته معرفتك و آنسنتني بك و فرغتني للتذكر في عظمتك و قال ابن سيرين لو خيرت بين الركتين و بين الجنة لا خير الركتين لأن الجنة حظ نفسى و دفاعها و في الركتين محبة الله و دفاعه و قال أبو عبد الله رحمة الله عليه لو أن الله تعالى يخبرني بين أن يدخلنى النار يبدل جميع خلقه و يدخلهم الجنة يبدل و يفع عذابهم على لوجدت من قلبي احتماله بعد أن لا يسلب من قلبي معوقته و من لسانى ذكرة [و] قال عبد الله بن عزيز رايت فى السنام كان القيامة قد قامت فإذاً منادى أين أبو عبد الله فجئنى^٢ به مسرعا فقلت له أنا عبد الله فقال أنت القائل لو أن دى أدخلنى النار يبدل جميع خلقه و أدخلهم الجنة لاجد من قلبي احتماله فقلت بلى أنا القائل بذلك فقال ألان تحتاج إلى تصحيف هذه الدعوى^٣ [و] على تصحيف ما أدعى و جعل يقرب يده على صدرى^٤ حتى انتبهت من هيبة مقاته و قال بعضهم المودة كاس من شراب محبة من عين المعرفة ممزوج بمسك السنة و عنبر العناية تجرى في نير القيمة فمن شرب منها كاساً لا يلتفت إلى الدنيا و ما فيها و من شرب كاسين لا يلتفت إلى العقبي بما فيها و من شرب منها ثلاثة سكر عما دونه لا يفتق منها إلى ألايد و دوى أن موسى عليه السلام كان يقول في بعض مناجاته ألمى عحبت مني وجدك كيف يرجع عنك أو يشغل بغيرك قال يا موسى من وجدى لا يرجع عنى و ما رجع إلا من الطريق و دوى في الأخبار أن يحيى بن ذكرياء و عيسى بن مرريم صلوات^٥ الله عليهما كانا يسران في بعض الطريق تقدم يحيى أمرؤة فقال له عيسى يا أبا الخالة لقد أصبت اليوم ذنبًا عظيمًا قال و ما هو قال أمرؤة صدمتها فقال يحيى والله ما شعرت بما فقال له عيسى سبحان الله نفسك معى فلين قلبك فقال عند الله مستأنس به ثم

^١ بعوضة MS.

^٢ فجيئي MS.

^٣ فقال MS.

^٤ صدرة MS.

^٥ صلوات MS.

كلّكم تعبدون^١ خوفاً من النار
 و ترجون النجاة حطا جزيلاً
 أو بان تسكنوا الجنان فتحظوا
 في دياض عيونها سلسبيلاً
 ليس في الشهد والجنان هو و أنا لا أبغي لحبي بديلاً
 نقال ذو النون [إن] لم تكون^٢ للوصال أهلاً فما تمنع فانشاد يقول
 أن لم أكن^٣ للوصال أهلاً رضيت بالنار منزلاً مقيلاً
 نم اعججت أشتها بندائي بكرة من حرقيها و أصيلاً
 أنا عبد خدمت مولاً جليلًا عشر الشركين نوحوا على
 فجزائي به عن أبي طويلاً ان لم أكن الذي ادعية حقاً^٤

الباب الخامس في مروءة العارفين بالله و معالي نعمتهم

قال أبو القاسم العارف رضي الله عنه أعلموا معاشر الربانيين أن أدنى منزلة أهل المودة
 أن يصردوا بالدنيا وجه عشايتها و بالآخرة وجه طلائها و يستأنسون برب العالمين حتى
 أن الله تعالى لو أدخلهم ناره و أحاط بهم عذابه أبد الابد مع هذه المعرفة فلا تزداد قلوبهم
 إلا انقطاعاً إليها و الفرادة بها و سكوناً معها من غير أن يلتقطوا منه البيها طرفة عين بكمال
 مروءتهم و حسن صياتهم وكانت الجنة بكل ما فيها في جنوب معرفتهم و معالي هممهم أصغر
 من خردلة في جنوب السماء والارض و الله تعالى يبعي المعاملة مع الخليل ابراهيم صلوات
 الله عليه لجميع عباده ليعلموا أن أهل المعرفة في النار أطيب عيشاً و أحسن حالاً و أشد
 سروداً مع الله تعالى من أهل الجنة في الجنة و ليعلموا أن كل من اولد في قلبة نار
 محبته لا تحرقه النار في الدارين لأن المعرفة و نار المحبة تحرقان ما دون ذلك فصارت النار
 بريداً و سلاماً في جنبيها و ليعلموا أن من عرف الله و أحبه لا يضره شيء في الدارين حتى
 أن المؤمن إذا وضع قدمه على الصراط يقول النار يا مؤمن جز جز فلن نورك أطفاء نارى
 فيما مادوى في الاخبار ابراهيم عليه السلام لما ألقى في النار قال نمرود حرقة و انصره
 ألهتم فقال ابراهيم عليه السلام كيف تحرقونى و حر نارى أشد من حر ناركم حسى الله و

¹ Ms. يعبدون

² Ms. يكن

³ Ms. يكن

⁴ Ms. محتقا.

على أثره^١ فييفون عبدة الأصنام وسائر الشركين على أثر معبدتهم حتى يعلوا إلى القادر ذلك قوله تعالى أنتم وما تعبدون من دون الله حسب جهنم - الآية - وكذلك جميع العباد والزباد وغيرهم من طلاب الجنة ييفون على أثر اعصابهم حتى يعلوا إلى الجنة وذلك قوله تعالى و سبق الذين انقوا ديم إلى الجنة ذمرا^٢ - الآية - ثم يبقى فريق من الربانيين ولائل آية العالية فيقال لهم من أنتم ومن معبدكم د مخلوبكم لم تغفرون على أثره فيقولون لا شبه له ولا نظير له فيقول الله عز وجل دعوا لللام وارفعوا السجدة عن أوليائي وأحبابي فإن طال ما رأيت خلقاً تلهمهم من شوقى ثم يقول الله أصياني شلماً إلى زيارتى بهذا يومكم الذى كنتم توعدون قال الله تعالى وجوه يومئذ نشرة إلى دبا ناخثرة - حتى أن ثابت البنائى ومالك بن دينار دخل على رابعة البصرية زائرين لها فقللت لها لى أخونى لماذا عبدت ربک قال وجاء للجنة ثم قال ثابت البنائى وانت يا غلام قال خونا من النار فقالت أنى لاستحقى من ربى أن أعبده وجاء للجنة أو خونا من النار فاكون كالجبر السوره لولا لجرته لم يعلم أو كبعد سره لولا مختلة ضرب سيدة لم يخدمه نقاً وانت يا ربعة لماذا عبدت ربک قالت حباً له وشوقاً إليه و حتى عن ذى النون البصرى (حمة الله عليه) أنه قال ليس من آية العلية أن أكثر ذكره في الجنة والنار فسئل ما آية العلية قال إن يقول العبد "الله" ونسى ما دونه عند ذكره و حتى أن ابن سليم بن ادشم قال لم يصدق من واسع ما غایة هستك قال (ضى الله عنه) و جنته فقال ابن ابي شيم أنى لاستحقى ربى أن يكون غایة هستى السخليق وقال بخييم ليت أن الله تعالى دفع الجنة والنار من بيني حتى أن العباد سجدوا له بلا علاقة وقال التسن البصرى (حمة الله عليه) لقد ادركت قوماً و صحت طائفه استحقوا من الله أن يستلوا منه الجنة و ما مالوها خداً و حتى أن (دخل الشام أتى إلى أبي الطاوس بن زياد وهو في المجلس فقال^٣ أتى رايتك في النيل كانك من اهل الجنة فتركه وأخذ بالبكاء حتى غشي عليه فلما أفاق قال يا عزيزني و قرة عيني بك عليك أن لا تصرفي^٤ عنك فقيل له في ذلك فقال من عرف المعنم لا يتصرف عنه بالغريم وقالت الرابعة البصرية بكيت عشر سنين عن الله تعالى و عشر سنين في الله تعالى و عشر سنين إلى الله تعالى فاما عن الله تعالى فالرجاء عنه و أما في الله فتشوف منه و أما إلى [الله] فالشوق إليه و حتى أن ذى النون^٥ البصرى كان يعظ الناس و يذكر لهم الجنة والنار بما فيهما و هم يبكون بعاص شديد^٦ فرأى فقيه فتى ي Finch عارفين فقال له ذو النون أريك فتحك يافتى والناس يبكون فاشهد يقول - شعر

¹ اثره Ms.⁵ تصرفي Ms.² نورم. Ms.⁶ ذى النون. Ms.³ دحمه. Ms.⁷ شديده. Ms.⁴ فقالو. Ms.

و حکی ان نبیا من الانبیاء لقی طائفة من العباد فقال على اى شی عبدم تم الله عز و جل فقالوا سمعنا ان الله خلق الجنة والنار فنحسن منها في شغل شافل و جهد جاهد و تعب طويل و نحسن نوصل الليل بالنهار و النهار بالليل وجاء اى الجنة و خوفا من النار فقال لهم انتم معاشر العباد تعملون على امر لسنا نعمل عليه انتم تعملون على دجاج الجنة و خوفا من النار و نحسن نعمل على محبة الله وشوقا اليه و دوى في الاخبار ان عيسى عليه السلام مر بنفر من الناس وقد تحولت ابدائهم و تغيرت^١ الاواني فقال ما الذي بلغ بهم ما ارى فقالوا الخوف من النار فقال حق^٢ على الله ان يوم الشاييف ثم مر عيسى و بلغ الى نفر فاذا هم اشد من ولدك في تحول الابدان واشد في تغير الاواني فقال ماذا بلغ بهم ما ارى فقالوا اشواق الى الجنان فقال حق^٢ على الله ان يعطيكم ما دجوتهم ثم مر الى نفر ثالث فاذا هم اشد في تحول الابدان من ولدك الاولين واشد [في] تغير الاواني و كان على وجوههم من اثر النور فقال لهم ماذا بلغ [بهم] ما ارى فقالوا الحب و الشوق اى الله تعالى فقال لهم عيسى عليه السلام "انتم المقربون" ثلث مرات^٣ و حکی عن محمد بن صباح قال^٤ بلغنا انه اذا كان يوم القيمة فيوتى باهل ولاية الله تعالى فيوتون بين يديه وهم يكونون على ثلاثة اصناف فيوتى بالصنف الاول فيقول بكل واحد منهم يا عبدي لماذا عملت يقول يا رب خلقت الجننة وما فيها من النعيم فاسبرت ليلى وأظلمات نهارى شوقا إليها في يقول [الله] تعالى عبدي أنا عملت للجننة فلك الجننة ومن فضلني عليك أن اعتنتك من النار ثم يوتى بالصنف الثاني ويقول لكل واحد منهم عبدي لماذا عملت فيقول يا رب خلقت النار و ما فيها من العذاب فاسبرت ليلى وأظلمات نهارى خوفا منها فيقول عبدي أنا عملت خوفا من النار و أنا اعتنتك من النار و من فضلني عليك أن أدخلك جنتي ثم يوتى بالصنف الثالث فيقول لكل واحد منهم عبدي لماذا عملت فيقول يا رب حبا لك وشوقا إليك فيقول انت عبدي حقا حقا ثم يقول ارعنوا الحجاب عن حبيبي وainissi فانه قد طال شوته الی و انى اليه لاشد شوقا فلما دفعوا الحجاب عنه فيقول له ارب عز و جل السلام عليك يا صفي و خيرى بين خلقي ها أنا ذاك ابد الابدين و عزتي و جلالى ما خلقت الدارين الا من اجلك وما خلقتك الا من اجلك فلك اليوم ما تمنيت و اشتقت مع لذاذ عين و سرود قلب و ان جميع لذاذن اهل الجننة و سرودهم ابد الابدين في جنوب سرودك و لذتك لى من خردلة بين النساء والارض و حکی عن يحيى بن معاذ الرأزى رحمة الله عليه قال بلغنا انه اذا كان يوم القيمة نادى مناد من العرش الا من عبد عبودا فليبصروا

يا حبيب القلوب من لي سواها
 طال شوقى متى يكون لقاها
 يا انيسى و منيتي [و] مرادى
 كنب القلب ان احب سواها

الباب الرابع في فتوة العارفين مع الله عز و جل

قال ابو القاسم العارف رضى الله [عنه] اعلموا معاشر الربانيين ان اذنى منزاة
 اهل الفتوة هي ان يقول مرة الله و نسى فى جنبه كل ما سوء كاصحاب الکيف اذ قاموا
 فقالوا ربنا رب السوات والارض وليس فی فكرهم ولا فی خواطيرهم جنة ولا نار ولا دنيا
 و لا عقبى و لا نفس و لا عرش و لا كرسى سوى الله عز و جل فعند ذلك
 سماهم: فتية آمنوا بربهم و زدناهم هدى - الآية - نيا عجبها من عرف مولاه و وجد أنسه وقربه
 باى شىء يشتعل هذا و اى همة و اراده لا تتشاشى فی جنب قربه ام كيف يطلب بذلك ومنه
 عوضا و ثوابا فهل يكون ذلك الا خسارة فی أهله و قلة فی المعرفة وهل يكون لباسا لحسن
 من لباس التقوى ام هل يكون تاجاً اعلى من تاج الاسلام ام هل يكون لواء لخطى من اواء
 المعرفة ام هل يكون بساط الشرف من بساطة الکتابة ام هل يكون نزهة لحسن من نزهة
 الغرفة والعبرة ام هل يكون فرحاً و سروراً افضل و اطهى والذ من الوصلة^٢ واقربة قال الله
 تعالى قل بنصل الله و برحمته فبذلك ثاليفرحوا هو خير مما يجتمعون - واعلموا ان الله خمامش
 من اصحابه عبدوه خالصا لوجهه و محبتته و شوتا اليه فروى فی الاخبار ان شعيبا صلوات الله
 عليه وسلم بعى حتى ذهب بصرة ثم ده^٣ اليه بصرة الى ثلث مرات^٤ فاوحى الله تعالى
 اليه بان يا شعيب ان كان بكاءك من خوف النار فقد امنتك من النار وان كان بكاءك
 لجل الجنة فقد اوجبتك لك الجنة فقال يا رب لا للجنة ولا خونا من النار ولكن لاجلك
 وحبا لك وشوتا اليك فاوحى الله تعالى اليه ان يا شعيب فليس لك دواء دون لقائى
 فابك ثم ابك ثانى ولحد عزيز ليس لك فی الدارين غیرى ولا لدائك^٥ دواء سوانى ولا
 لك راحة دون لقائى ثالثا قال النبي عليه السلام ولا راحه^٦ للمؤمن^٧ دون لقاء الله عز و جل

^١ ط. ١ Ms. ^٢ ط. ٣ Ms. ^٣ برد. ^٤ مرأة. ٤ Ms. ^٥ دابك. ^٦ دابك. ^٧ المؤمن. ٧ Ms.

أمبخت قال أصبحت وقد أباح لى¹ الكونين و معنى أن أنظر إليها و حتى أن دجلة كان لا يلتئم يميناً و لا ينظر إلى واحد فقط فقيل له في ذلك قال من شرب² شربة من كأس حرف محبة لا يحب الالتفات منه إلى غيرة و كان يوماً من الأيام يطوف حول المعبدة فدعا ولحد ناراد أن يلتهن أليه فسع صوتاً يقول من انتفت منها إلى غيرنا فليس منها نهانج صيحة و غشى³ عليه و حتى أن واحداً من العارفين كان يمشي في البادية و لم يكن معه زاد و لا دلطة فكان يوماً من الأيام حدثته نفسه ببعض⁴ الحاجة فبلغ إلى بيرو⁵ و معه دكوة فرمى في البيير فإذا هي مسلوقة⁶ من دنانير فاذا هافت يقول إذا أردت غيراً فارتاحل من قرينا و هالك أدناينه فزع فرعاً شديداً ثم دمى بها في البيير⁷ و قال غيراً فارتاحل من قرينا و هالك أدناينه فزع فرعاً شديداً ثم دمى بها في البيير⁷ و قال غزيرى و ياترة عينى أعود بك منك كل أراده سواك و حتى أنه كان لفتح الموصلى صبي في يوماً من الأيام عانقه و قبله فندوى من الهواء أن يا فتح ادعية محبتنا و في قلبك حب غيراً فاعتاج صيحة و خر مغشياً عليه و حتى أن رابعة البصرية⁸ انت إلى دباح القيسى و هو يقبل صبياً من أهلها فنالت انتجه⁹ قال نعم قالت ما كنت احسب أن في قلبك موضعاً فارغاً لمحبة غير الله تعالى فزع فرعاً شديداً حتى غشى عليه من صحة مقالتها ثم افاق وهو يمسح العرق من جبينه¹¹ و حتى أن علياً بن أبي طالب (رضي الله عنه) كان يجلس الحسن و الحسين و كان ينظر إليهما و يقبلهما فقال له الحسن يا أبا ابيت اني أريك انك تحبنا قال أجل يا بنى قال يا أبا¹² تستحبى من الله أن ينظر إلى قلبك فieri فيه حباً لغيره فبكى على بن أبي طالب (رضي الله عنه) بكاءً شديداً من مقالته ثم قال ما العصيلة يا بنى قال الحسن (رضي الله عنه) يا أبا الحب لله و الشفقة علينا لأن من أحب لله حباً صانياً لا يشرك معه سواه و حتى عن فتح الموصلى انه قال كان لى ابن فوقع في قلبي محبة له فبقيت ليلة عن وددي و ذهب نشاطي هذا فعلنا بين ادعى محبتنا و مال إلى غيرنا و في قلبه موضع لغيرنا فقلت يا حبيبى و قرة عينى انا [رايته لانه]¹⁵ يختلفنى فيطيعك بعدى فان كنت تعلم انى صادق فخذله أليك انساعه قال فانتجه من [صيحة و ادته]¹⁶ و قد قادم يوم فسقط في البيير

¹ Ms. ألى² Ms. مشروب³ Ms. عشي⁴ Ms. ببعض⁵ Ms. بيئر⁶ Ms. مسلوقة⁷ Ms. البيير⁸ Ms. الصبرى⁹ Ms. تحسنه¹⁰ Ms. القيس¹¹ Ms. جبتيه¹² Ms. أما¹³ Ms. لذاته¹⁴ Ms. الفترت¹⁵ Ms. ارتلجه¹⁶ Ms. صاح والدينه

و اجتى بمحبته غار عليه على قدر حبه له و قربه منه أشد الغيرة متنم على محروم
فان نظر عليه يوما و يرى في قلبه موضع لغيره و التفت منه الى ما سواه عاته و صير
ذلك أشئ بالاد عليه فينبغى لكل من وضع قدمه¹ على بساط قربه أن يحفظ حرمته
اجلاله حتى لا يسقط عن بساطه و أن الله تعالى قال لعنية محمد عليه السلام لا تندن
عينيك الى ما متعنا به ازواجا منهن - الاية - ثم من عليه بما عصمه الله تعالى حتى لا ينظر اليهم
قوله تعالى دلولا ان ثبتناك لقد كدت تركي اليم شيئا قليلا - اى قرب ميلك اليم ثم مدحه
بترك الالتفات منه الى ما سواه و حفظه على الادب على بساط القرب منه قوله تعالى
ما زاغ البصر و ما طغى - فاذ لم يلتفت منه الى غيره قال له يا محمد تعال وانا ادفع
الحجاب من بيني وينيك حتى تنظر الى بلا كيف قال الله تعالى ما كذب المؤود ما
رأى انتقاونه على ما يرى ولقد دأة نزلة أخرى - الاية - وسع واحد من العاذفين قاربا يقراء
دب آرني انظر اليك فقال لو كان سؤال موسى عليه السلام على مدق هيجان نيرأن
الاشتياق حيث يقول دب آرني ذلو آماته ألف مرة ثم احياءه فيقول في كل مرة دب
آرني و لم يرجع عن مقالته منه الى البد و لا انتفت منه الى الجبل و لا الى غيره و
يمروى عن النبي عليه السلام انه قال اثاني جبريل عليه السلام بمقاييس خزان الدنيا
فما انتفت اليها و ما قبلتها حرمة لجلالة و حكى ان السرى اللستلى رحمة الله عليه قال
كنت في طلب مديق ثلاثين سنة فلم اظفر به فمررت يوما من الايام في بعض الجبال
فإذا هو قائم على صخرة فدبوت و اخذت ذيده فقال خل ذيلي سرى فان الحبيب غيور
فلا يراك ان تستناس بغيرة فتسقط من عينه و كذلك حكى ان ابا عبد الله رحمة الله
عليه قال كنت في بعض مسبرى فاذ أنا بناس قد اجتمعوا عند بعض الجبال منتظرین
فقلت لهم فيم انتم قالوا ننتظر دجل من الله لانه يخرج في كل سنة من وسط هذا
الجبل مرة و يدخل أخرى قال فما لبثت ساعة ان جاء الرجل و عليه مسح و في وجهه
سيصاد العارفين فدنوت منه قبل ان يدخل في وسط الجبل و اخذت به و قلت من
انت رحك الله قال دعني² فانه غيور و نوع المسمى عن يدي³ و مفى و كنت انظر
خلة حتى غاب عني و حكى ان ابا يزيد البسطامي رحمة الله عليه قال منذ ثلاثين سنة
عرض على التجة⁴ بما فيها فما نظرت اليها طرفة عين اجلأ الله عز و جل و يوما من الايام
نظرت الى بعض الصوراء فاحرمته الفائدة عشرة أيام و قبيل بعض اهل المعرفة كيف

¹ (*qudsuman*) مُغْسِيٌ قَدْمًا Would be better reading. [A.S.]

² Ms. دعيم. ³ Ms. يلامدي ⁴ Ms. الحنة ⁵ Ms. الفامدة.

بشاب عليه ازار خاق^١ و دايت عليه اثر التبعي و الصبر فترحمت عليه وأخذت كيساً^٢ فيه ماءة
دنيار و دنوت منه و قلت ياحبيبي أجعل هذا في بعض حاجاتك ثلم يلتفت ألى فألحتت
عليه الصالحاً كثيراً فاقبل أى وقال ياشينع هذه حالات لا ليبعا بالجنة بكل ما فيها وهي دار
النجال و معدن اللطف و انقرا و مصل البقاء نحيف ليبيعا بشئون خبيث وعوض بخس
ردية و قال بعضهم عجبت^٣ لمن وانى الله عز و جل باكثر من قدر الجنة بكل ما فيها و
هي المعرفة نحيف يشتغل بالدارين بكل ما فيها و حتى ان دجالاً من العارفين ملى
على الميت نغير عليه خمس تغييرات فقيل له عن ذلك الحال فقال كبرت اربعاً على
الميت و واحدة على الدارين بكل ما فيها و قال أبو سليمان الداراني رحمة الله عليه ألا
ان الناظرين الى الله عز و جل لا الى غيره ذهباً بصفوة الدارين و اكثراً عن هذا غالقاًون
و عن مراثيهم جاشلون فاشتغلوا بارتفاع حظيم من الله تعالى في الدارين و قال بعض
الشائخ ايا طالب الدنيا دعه الدنيا تطلبك ويا طالب العقبى اوم يكف بربك أنه على
كل شيء شبيه — قال الشاعر

ابي كنت في البلوى ولا شكوى من البلوى
مرادي منك ما تعلم بلا من ولا سلوى
ابي لست في البلوى ولا اشكو من البلوى
مرادي منك ما تعلم [بلا من]
فان اعطيتني الدنيا و ان اعطيتني العقبى
فلا ارأى من الدارين الا دوحة المولى
فان ايما تركت⁶ للناس دنياهم و دينهم شغلا بحبك يا دينى و دينياى

الباب الثالث في نعية الله سبحانه و تعالى
على أصفيائه وأهل قربة من أئمّة الكتبين

وقال أبو القاسم العارف رضي الله عنه أعلموا معاشر الربانيين إن الله تعالى مطلع على أسرار السحيبيين ومطلع على هم⁷ العارفين فإذا لاحب عداؤه من بين عبيده و خمه لنفسه

³ The Ms. from here upto the end is in Persian handwriting.

⁴ Ms. فيها ⁵ Ms. داع. ⁶ Ms. ترکت و ⁷ Ms. مم

من أناك طامعاً أو ترد من بابك ساللا ثم داى ابا بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه في ذاوية أخرى من المسجد وهو يدعو و يتضرع إلى الله تعالى ويقول أبى أريدك فاهدنى و رضيت بك من الدارين فاقبلنى ولا تقطع أملى فيك يا سيدى و يا مولانى فبكى رضى الله عنه بكاءً شديداً وقال شتان ما بين اليمين واليمين ليشتبى شوبها و واحد ليشتبى أبها و حى أن ابا يزيد البسطامى رحمة الله عليه سمع قاريا يقرئ هذه الآية منكم من يريد الدنيا و منكم من يريد الآخرة - فبكى رضى الله عنه بكاءً شديداً ثم قال هذا من الله تعالى شفاعة على عبيدة و كانه يقول منكم من رضى عنى بالدنيا و منكم من (رضى عنى بالعقبى) فابن من رضى عنى بي و عما بي و أكتفى بي عما لى أكون له سمعا و بصراً و قال عبد الله لابنه وهو يعظه يا بني اتخذ الله جليسنا و انيسا و الزم ذكر مولاك و خدمته تاتك الدنيا و هي راغبة و تطلبك الآخرة و هي عاشقة يا بني من عرف الله بكنه¹ لا يختار عليه جليسنا سواه يا بني من استنس بالله عز و جل أستوحش من شغله عن مولا و قال أيها من عرف الله حق معرفته لا يشغل منه بالدنيا و لا بالعقبى لأن الدنيا و العقبى بـ² الموارى و الموارى لحب إلى العارف من بـ³ وقال أيها أن الله تعالى أطاك المعرفة و وفقك لطاعته من غيرشىء سبق منك و لا شفاعة لك فيبنيعى لك أن تستغل بذكره و خدمته من غير أن تتمس منه عوضاً عليه و قال عبد الله النباجي أدنى مراتب العارف أن يمر على الناس و الهواء³ و أوسطها أن يمر على الدارين من غير أن يلتفت منه إليهما و أعلمهما أن يصير كما كان حيث لم يكن التوين و هو الحق بلا كون عز و جل كما كان في الأزل و قال عمر بن أبي سلمة الناس ي يكون على الدنيا و أنا استحيي من الله تعالى أن أبكي بكاءً على الآخرة وقال سليمان الداراني رحمة الله عليه ما يسرنى أن يكون لى الدنيا منذ خلقها الله تعالى من غير أن تفنى و كنت أتفهم فيها بغير حساب و لا عذاب ثم أنها تشغلنى عن الله تعالى طرفة عين قال نعرضوا هذه المقالة على رابعة البصرية رحمة الله عليها فقالت أرابعة ما يسرنى أن يكون لى العقبى بكل ما فيها أبد الابد ثم أنها تشغلنى عن الله طرفة عين فقالت⁴ الرابعة ليس بعارف من شفاء الجنان بكل ما فيها تكيف الدنيا و قال عبد الله النباجي رحمة الله عليه لا يستثنى الجنة للعارف بكل ما فيها في جنب معرفة فحيف الدنيا بكل ما فيها و قال شيخ المشائخ رحمة الله عليه بينما⁵ أنا في مسجد المحرام فإذا أنا

¹ أى حق معرفته : Ms. (Interlinear note)

² أبى . ³ Ms. (Interlinear note) عليه :

⁴ قال ، as the first letter is under a patch of paper.

⁵ Ms. بينما

بلا التفات منه الى ما سواه ابد الابدین و اعلموا ان اصل فراغ القلب من شغل الكونيين هو ترك الارادة من حن الدارين و اصل الاكتفاء بالموالى تعالى هو ترك الاشتغال بالدنيا و العقبي من تعلق بالدنيا يبقى عن العقبي و المولى و من تعلق بالموالى وجد المولى و خدمته الدنيا و العقبي بكل ما فيها قال الله تعالى من كان يريد حرث الآخرة نزد له في حرثه و من كان يريد حرث الدنيا نزد منها و ما له في الآخرة من نصيب - و كذلك دوى في الاخبار ان الله تعالى لما خلق الخلق و عرض عليهم الدنيا بكل ما فيها فتعلق بها من كل ألف تسع مائة و تسعمائة و بقى فرقة واحدة ثم خلق الجنة و عرضها على من بقى منها فتعلق بها من كل ألف تسع مائة و تسعة و تسعمائة و بقى منها فرقة واحدة ثم نودى لمن بقى ما تريدون اذا لم تتعلقو بالدنيا ولا بالعقبي فقالوا باجمعهم يا سيدنا و مولانا انك لتعلم ما نريد قال نودى إن كنتم تريدونى صببت عليهم أليا صبا لا تحصيا سوائى و لا ارضى امتحانا فان صبرتم معى و اكتفيتكم بي عمالى او صلتم الى قربى و اذتقتم لاذانى انسى و دفعت عنكم الحرج حتى تنظروا الى عظمتى و جئى نقاوا باجمعهم قرة اعيننا ا فعل بنا ما شئت فانت اولى بنا كذلك دوى ان عليا ابن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه قال يو ما لابى بكر رضى الله تعالى عنه يا خليفة رسول الله باى شى بلغت الى ما بلغت حتى سبقت علينا سبقا قال بخسدة اشياء او لابا حين دخلت فى الاسلام وجدت الناس منفرين طالب الدنيا و طالب العقبي و كنت انا طالب المولى و الثاني منذ دخلت فى الاسلام ما وجدت لذة فى الدنيا الا لذة ذكر الله تعالى و حلاوة¹ خدمته و سرور معرفته شغلنى عن لذان الدنيا كلها و الثالث منذ دخلت فى الاسلام ما شعبت من طعام الدنيا و مادويت من شرابها من خوف نوع المعرفة و هم فرائنه و الرابع ما استقبلنى امران امر فيه رداء دمى و امر فيه رداء نفسى و حلها الا اخترت رداء على رداء نفسى و على كل من سواه و الخامس صببت البنى عليه الصلوة و الاسلام على حسن الصحبة و حفظ الحرمات حتى فارق الدنيا على الله عليه و سلم قال فبى على بن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه ثم قال هنئا لك يا ابا بكر مكردا و حى ايضا ان علينا ابن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه دخل يوما مسجد رسول الله على الله تعالى عليه و سلم فرأى اعراينا فى زاوية المسجد و هو يدعوه و تيفر عالي الله تعالى و يقول اعراي شويبا² لا اريد منك غيره و اكتفى منك بها و انت اجل من ان تخيب

¹ Ms. If مرفوع which gives a better sense, the verb must be in the dual, i.e. شغلاني

² Ms. (Marginal note) شويبا تصغير اشأة :

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ أَسْتَقَامَ عَلَى طَرِيقِ مَدْقُ الْعَبْدِيَّةِ وَالْأَنْسِ وَالْمَحْبَّةِ فَأَشْرَقَ قَلْبَهُ عَلَى عَرْثَانِ
مَوَارِدَهُ الْحَفْرَةِ^١ بِرُوْيَةِ حَسْنِ الْعَنَيْةِ الْأَزْلِيَّةِ الْسَّرْمَدِيَّةِ وَعَاهَ مَعَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بِلَا غَفَلَةَ إِلَى
أَنْ يَفْلُ إِلَى الرَّوْيَةِ وَالْمَشَاهِدَةِ وَإِيْفَأً مَعْنَاهُ نَمْنَهُمْ مِنْ أَكْتَفَى مِنْ الْمَوْلَى بِالدُّنْيَا وَمِنْهُمْ
مِنْ أَكْتَفَى مِنْ الْمَوْلَى بِالْعَقْبَى وَوَصَلَ إِلَى الدُّنْيَا وَالْعَقْبَى وَحَجَبَ بِرُوْيَةِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْعَقْبَى
مِنْ الْمَوْلَى وَكُلُّ مَنْ أَكْتَفَى مِنْ الْمَوْلَى بِالْمَوْلَى وَوَصَلَ إِلَى الْمَوْلَى أَنْسَهُ وَقَرْبَهُ إِلَى الْأَبْدِ
وَخَدْمَتِهِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْعَقْبَى [وَ] مَوْيِدُ ذَلِكَ^٢ مَا دَوِيَ فِي الْأَخْبَارِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى أَوْحَى إِلَى
أَدَوِدَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامَ أَنْ يَا دَاؤِدَ مِنْ أَكْتَفَى بِنَا عَمَّا كَنَا لَهُ وَمَا لَنَا وَمَنْ لَمْ يَكْنِفْ بِنَا عَمَّا
لَنَا لَسْنَا لَهُ وَمَا لَنَا ثُمَّ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لِصَفَيْهِ مُحَمَّدَ الْمَصْطَفَى عَلَيْهِ الْأَصْلَوْهُ وَالسَّلَامُ أَوْلَمْ يَكْفِي
بِرَبِّكَ أَنَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَهِيدٌ وَقَالَ أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ الْعَارِفِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ — شِعْرٌ

كَفَانِي أَنْتِي عَبْدٌ ضَعِيفٌ
لِغَنَارٍ وَسَتَارٍ لَطِيفٌ
وَلَيْسَ الْفَخْرُ لِي سَقْيًا^٣ وَعَارٌ
إِذَا كَانَ افْتَخَارِي بِاللَّطِيفِ
وَلَا أَرْضَى سَوْيَ الْمَحِبُوبِ رَبِّاً
وَلَا شَيْئًا سَوْيَ وَجْهِ الْلَّطِيفِ
وَأَطْيَبُ مِنْ الشَّيَاءِ لَهْطِي
وَلَا شَيْئًا مِنْ الْأَشْيَاءِ لَهْطِي

أَفْهَمُوا مَعَاشِ الْرَّبَانِيِّينَ مَا ذَكَرَنَا مِنْ دَرَجَاتِ الْأَيْمَةِ وَأَصْنَافِ النَّاسِ فِيهَا وَأَعْلَمُوا
بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ سَبَّحَهُ وَتَعَالَى عَوْضُ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَلَيْسَ شَيْءٌ عَوْضًا عَنْهُ وَهُوَ الْحَاطِمُ فِي
الْأَدَارِينَ وَلَيْسَ شَيْءٌ فِيهَا حَاصِلًا غَيْرَهُ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى قَلْ أَلَّهُ نَمْ ذَرْهُمْ فِي خَوْضِهِمْ - فَانْ
وَقَتَمْ عَلَى مَا ذَكَرَنَا وَلَا سَافَرْسَرْ لَكُمْ عَلَى لِسَانِ احْسَنِهِنَّهُ وَعِبَارَةُ اشْرَفِهِنَّهُ فَانْ نَظَرَتْ
فِيهِ وَقَفَتْ أَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمْ —

الْبَابُ الْثَّانِي فِي مَنْ أَكْتَفَى بِالْمَوْلَى مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَالْعَقْبَى

قَالَ أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ الْعَارِفِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَعْلَمُوا مَعَاشِ الْرَّبَانِيِّينَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عِبَادًا [تُرْكُوا اِرْدَادَةَ]^٤
حَتَّى أَنْفَسَهُمْ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا نَمْ مِنَ الْعَقْبَى نَمْ مِنَ الْمَوْلَى جَلَ جَلَّهُ ثُمَّ مِنْ دَوِيَةِ التَّرْكِ نَمْ مِنْ
تَرْكِ دَوِيَةِ التَّرْكِ حَتَّى لَمْ يَقِنْ لَهُمْ حَتَّى مِنَ الدَّارِيِّينَ وَأَكْتَفُوا بِحَيْمِ وَأَنْسِهِمْ وَقَرْةَ أَعْيُنِهِمْ

^١ اَلْحَفْرَةُ : مَسَ (Interlinear note) ^٢ مَسَ (Ms.) ^٣ مَسَ (Ms.) (Covered by a patch of paper; readable under magnifying glass.

النعم و التصور فنما عاشنا ايا و لا يتفرغ من مشعوته الى غيره فلا يزال يدعو و يتضرع الى الله تعالى ويستل مراده منها بالحقيقة و ما سوى ذاك يستل على سبيل العادة فالموالى تعالى موصله ايتها على مقدار عمله ايا و رب قلب غلبت عليه اراده مولاه و محبته له و صحت ارادته فطال اشتياقه اليه فنما مخترقاً بجهة طامح البصر نحو لقائه مستقيماً على طريق عبده و وثائمه طالباً طريق قربه و رضاه لا يتفرغ عن متناوله الى غيره فلا يزال يدعو و يتضرع الى الله تعالى ويستله منه بلا واسطة بالحقيقة و ما سوى ذاك لا يستل منه ولا يتلفت منه الى ما سواه اجلالاً لحرمه و معالي شهته و انفراده به و المولى تعالى لا يتطلع امله بل يوصل الى قربه على قدر شكه ثم انت يا اخى بالاختيار بين هذه الثالثة ان اردت من المولى الدنيا فاعلم ايتها مقسومة مفروضة وقد فرغ من تقديرها و تدبيرها لا يزيد بحسب الکاسبين وجيد الجاند بين د حرس الراغبين و لا تنقص بزهد الزاهدين و عبادة العباديين و ان اردت من المولى سبحانه و تعالى العقلى يعطيك هناك منها على قدر حسن عملك ايا نسى ذرت في الدعاء والتضرع والابتهاج اليه يزيد لك التوفيق في صالح الاعمال فيما يوصلك الى العقلى و درجاتها و تعيناها على مقدار اجتهادك في العبادة الا انه مادام نزاوك على ثواب الاعمال يحجبك عن القرب من الله تعالى و اوصل [إليه] [و] و يحرسك من اذانك الانس و الاقبال الى الغرور الكبير المتعال و ان اردت من المولى انسه و قربه فلا تلتفت منه الى غيره اجلالاً لحرمه يوصلك و يقربك منه و يريك ما تقرب به عيناك فتحاين لك ما يطيب به قلبك [ويطلعك] حيث ما يغيب عنه غيرك و يوسع لك ما يطيب به قلبك ميلان^١ الافتخار به و يزاوك على فرش الانتقال اليه و الاشتغال به و يسلك بك طريق الانفراد به ويسهل لك عقبة^٢ الاجتهاد فيه ثم بعد ذلك ياتيك حالات لا يصفها واصف غير[ك] ثم ان الله تعالى ذكر في كتابه نعمت هذه الثالثة قوله تعالى ثم اوردنا الكتاب الذين اصطفينا من عبادنا فنهم ظالم لمنفسه و منهم مقتضى ومنهم سابق بالخيرات باذن الله- الآية- معناها : فنهم من (جمع مني بالدنيا و منهم من (جمع مني بالعقلى و منهم من لا يرجع مني بالآرين و بكل ما فيهما و أيضاً معناه فنهم من استقام على طريق التوحيد و المعرفة ثم افطرب في طريق الطاعة و الخدمة ثم دنس نفسه بالذنب و المعصية برويته خلعت التوحيد و المعرفة و عاش في الدنيا على الجهل و الغفلة فهو على خطى خطيم لأن يرحة ارحم الراحمين و منهم من استقام على طريق صدق العبودية ثم افطرب على طريق صفاء ذكر الله^٣ بروية حسن المعاملة و عاش في الدنيا على الحسنان و الغرة الى أن يصل إلى الحساب و المعاقبة

^١ Ms. ميدان

^٢ Ms. (Interlinear note) جبل :

^٣ Ms. الملة.

امرأة نظر بعين التحمة فيما ذكرنا في هذا الكتاب من معالى أيمية وشرفها وان لا يتكلّم بها
عند من لا يبلغ إليها عقولهم لانه قل وجود من كان من أنهايا وقل من ما سلك طرقها و
قل من ما يساعدها فيها وقل من يعرف مراتب أنهايا بعمال محلها وعزها وعظم شرفها
بارك الله لنا و لكم في تاليفي هذا و نسائه التوفيق على ما يجب و يرضي و نستعين به
على الصواب و عليه التكمل فانه ذو الفضل والحسان والقدرة والامتنان والاعفاء والغفران
والمحنة و الرضوان وفي هذا الكتاب عشرة أبواب

الباب الأول في درجات الهمة و أصناف المذاق فيها

قال ابو القاسم¹ العارف رحمة الله اعلموا معاشر الربانيين ان القلوب اجتنحة تصليها بها الى مرادها على قدر صحتها فاما ان كل طير يطير نحو متقدمة و مطلوبه على جناحه وقوه ديشه وصحه بدنها فلا يستريح من طيرانه الى ان يبلغ غاية مراده فاذا بلغ اليه وقف عنده ونزل عليه ولا يتجاوز عنه كذلك كل انسان يطير باجتنحة الهمه نحو متقدمة و مطلوبه على قدر هسته وقوه يقينه وصحه ارادته وكمال مروعته ولا يستريح من طيرانه حتى يبلغ الى غاية مراده فاذا بلغ اليه وقف عنده ونزل عليه فلا يتجاوز عنه قال الله تعالى قل كل يصل على شاكته اى على قدر هسته فعلى قدر هسته العبد يكون قدرة وقيمه عند ربها تعالى وكل من كان هسته دنياه في جميع الارادات³ والحرفات⁴ فلقيمة له لا قيمة ما يخرج منه يعني من كانت هسته ما يدخل في فمه كانت قيمته ما يخرج منه وكل من كانت هسته عقبا في جميع الارادات³ والحرفات فهو مع القيمة وكل من كانت هسته مولاها في جميع الارادات³ والحرفات فلا نهاية لقيمه وقدره و منزلته عند ربها فكل صنف من هذه الثلاثة دعاءهم و تضرعهم و ابتعالهم اى الله تعالى على قدر ما غالب عليهم من مرادهم و تضليلهم فرب قلب غلبت عليه اراده نعيم الدنيا فصار عاشقا لها و لا يتفرغ من مشوشته الى غيره فلا يزال يدعوه ويتصرّع الى الله تعالى ويسأله مراده منها بالحقيقة و ما سوى ذلك ليسئل على سبيل العادة و المولى تعالى موصله إليها على مقدار عمله لها و رب قلب غلبت عليه اراده العقبى [عن] الله عز وجل و لاهاها من

^۱ Ms. (Interlinear note) : حضرت جنید بغدادی :

³ Ms. الادانة ⁴ Ms. ٨٥ الحـ ⁵ Ms. قالـ

- M.S. ٤٥٨

الحر ٤ Ms. ٨٥

النحو 2 Ms.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الصَّدَّلَهُ الَّذِي أَعْلَمُ شَمْ اَمْفِيَاهَهُ اَلِي دَصَالَهُ وَدَفْعَ اَخْتَارَ اَجْبَاهَهُ اَلِي بَاهَهُ وَمَلَأَ مَدْوَرَ
 اُولَيَاهُهُ مِنْ تَوْرَ جَاهَهُ حَدَّ مِنْ لَمْ يَرِ بَهْ بَدِيهَهُ وَلَا عَنَهُ تَسْتَوِيَهُ وَلَا سُوَاهُ كَفِيَهُهُ وَلَا دُونَهُ هَادِيَهُ وَلَا
 دَلِيَهُ فَنَشِيدَهُ اَنْ لَا إِلَهَ اَلَا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ اَنْهُ طَابَتْ¹ بَذِكْرَهُ اَدْوَاجَ اَمْرِيَدِيَنَ وَيَعْلَمُ مَا
 فِي ضَمَائِرِ اَنْتَامِيَنَ وَيَعْرِي اَحْتَرَاقَ تَلَوِبَ اَسْتَبَيِنَ وَيَعْرُفُ طَلَوْلَ اَلِيَّمَ عَلَى اَسْتَشَافِيَنَ وَلَا يَحْجَبُ
 عَنْ تَلَوِبَ اَوْاصلِيَنَ وَيَطَلَعُ عَلَى مَعَالِي شَمْ اَعْمَارِيَنَ وَنَشِيدَهُ اَنْ مَصْدَأَ عَبَدَهُ وَرَسُولَهُ وَصَعِيَهُ وَ
 نَجِيَهُ وَدَلِيَهُ وَحَبِيَّهُ وَخَبِيرَهُ اَنْ خَلَتَهُ اَذْنِي جَاءَ اَحْتَقَ بَسِيَّهُهُ وَذَعَقَ الْبَاطِلَ بَظَهُورَهُ وَ
 اَشْرَقَتْ² اَلْرَغْبَ بَنُورَهُ عَلَى اللَّهِ عَلِيَّهُ وَسَامَ وَعَلَى اَلَّهِ وَسَلَمَ تَسْلِيَهُ كَثِيرًا كَثِيرًا اَمَابَعْدَ مَعَاشِرَ
 اَخْوَانِيَ وَاَشْلَ عَنِيَّاتِي نَبِيِّمَ اللَّهِ وَاِيَّاهُ مِنْ نَوْمَةِ اَسْتَبَيِنَ فَنِيفَعَ عَنْ نَوْمَةِ اَنْغَانِيَنَ وَآرَانَا مَا
 خَفَى مِنْ اَسْتَدِيَتِيَنَ فَنِيفَعَ عَنْ اَجْتَالِيَنَ وَاَعْلَمُوا اَنْ كُلَّ مَنْتَبَهُ نَاثَمَ اَلَا اَسْتَدِيَتِيَنَ وَكُلَّ
 صَدِيقَ مَغْرُورَ اَلَا اَشْلَ اِيَّيَهُ مِنْ اَعْمَارِيَنَ وَاَنَا لَمَّا قَدْ نَظَرْتُ اَلِي اَشْلَ وَلَاهِيَّ اللَّهِ سَبَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى
 فِي زَمَانِي هَذَا خَانَ اَكْثُرُهُمْ جَاهَلُونَ عَنْ مَقْدَارِ اَنْفُسِيَنَ وَعَنْ عَوْنَانَ قَدْرَهُمْ وَشَتَّيْمَ عَنْ دِيَمْ
 وَغَانَلُونَ عَنْ دَوْيَهُ حَسْنَ عَنِيَّةِ اللَّهِ وَكَمَالَ تَوْدَدَهُ اَيْمَ وَعَمَا خَصِمَ اللَّهُ بِعْرَفَتَهُ وَاَخْتَارَهُمْ
 بِعَصِبَتَهُ وَعَمَا يَدْعُوْهُمْ اَلِي قَرْبَهُ³ مِنْهُ وَالْاِنْسَ بَهْ حَتَّى صَادَرَا يَتَبَعِيُونَ فِي اَلْعَوَانِ وَالْمَنَازِلِ
 وَأَقْفَيَنَ وَعَنْ مَنَادِ⁴ الْقَلَوبِ وَالْتَّبَيِّبِ الْاَكْبَرِ مَتَجْوِيَنَ وَفِي اُودِيَةِ الْخَرَّةِ وَالْكَسْبَانِ يَتَبَعِيُونَ
 وَفِي ظَلَامَاتِ الْتَّسْنِيِّ وَالْتَّعَالِيَقِ يَتَسْتَبِرُونَ حَتَّى صَادَرَا يَعْبُدُونَ النَّفْسَ وَالْأُوْيَ وَهُمْ لَهُ يَشْعُبُونَ
 حَتَّى خَدَتْ⁵ عَنْ تَلَوِبِيْمَ هِيجَانَ (غَبَّةُ اَلِي رَبِّ الْعَلَمِيَنَ عَنْ مَدْقَ اَلْجَاهِيَّهُ اَلِيْهِ مِنْ ضَعْفِ الْيَقِيْنِ)
 وَخَسَاسَةُ اَهْمَهَهُ وَسَوْءَ الْخَلَفُونَ بِاللهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَ حَلْفَيِّ⁶ اَنْ اَصْنَفَ كِتَابًا فِي مَعَالِي اَهْمَهَهُ بِعَوْنَ
 اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَتَوْفِيقَهُ لِيَتَقْتَفِ عَلَيْهِ اَمْرِيَدِيَنَ وَيَتَدَرَّبَ بَهْ اَسْتَبَيِنَ وَيَتَهَذَبَ بَهْ اَسْتَبَيِنَ دَحْمَ اللَّهِ

¹ Ms. (Margin) طَبِيب

² Ms. (Margin) اَشْرَقَهُ

³ Ms. (Margin) قَرْبَهُ

⁴ Ms. (Margin) مَنَادِي twice, 'as the scribe repeats the word at the end of a page while beginning the next page. A better reading: [A.S.] . مَنَادِي

⁵ Ms. (Margin note) دَحْمَ طَفَيِّ : incorrect reading for خَدَ طَفَيِّ.

⁶ Ms. (Interlinear note) جَواب لَمَا :

كتاب
معالى الهم

النسبة إلى
الإمام الشیخ ابی القاسم الجنید
البغدادی

اعتنی بطبعه و تصحیحه
حبيب الله خان غضنفر

N.B.—For an Introduction and notes to this work, see Vol. XI, pp. 263—297 of the *Allahabad University Studies*.

SCIENCE

SECTION I CHEMISTRY

OXIDATION OF GLUCOSE IN PRESENCE OF INSULIN, GLUTATHIONE AND OTHER SUBSTANCES

By C. C. PALIT AND N. R. DHAR

In a previous publication (*Jour. Ind. Chem. Soc.* 1934, *ii*, 661) it has been shown that the induced oxidation of glucose by air in presence of ferrous hydroxide acting as an inductor, is greatly increased if small amounts of manganous hydroxide is added to the ferrous hydroxide. Thus the oxidation of glucose in presence of ferrous hydroxide (= 0.0468 gram) alone is 4.33% and after the addition of manganous hydroxide (= 0.00328% grm.) to ferrous hydroxide the oxidation of glucose is increased to 48.26%. Similarly the induced oxidation of glucose in presence of cerous hydroxide (= 0.1069 grm.) is accelerated by manganous hydroxide. Hence our results show that the joint action of the two inductors is much greater than their additive values.

We have also shown that small amounts of copper stimulate markedly the induced oxidation of glucose and other food materials.

In this communication, we are submitting our results on the oxidation of glucose in presence of insulin and glutathione acting singly or in mixtures aided by different inorganic catalysts and solid surfaces. It is well known that both insulin and glutathione are excellent reducing agents taking up oxygen directly.

Experimental

The experimental work was carried on in the same way as described in a previous paper (C. C. Palit and N. R. Dhar

Jour. Ind. Chem. Soc. 1934, ii, 661). The following results have been obtained.

Volume of air passed=36.5 litres in 13 hours. Amount of glutathione taken=0.05 grm. and the amount insulin taken =10 units. Each of the substances taken as inductor=1.0000 grm. Amount of sodium phosphate added=0.2880 gram. 10 cc. of glucose=0.2308 grm. of CuO (Blank).

Table No. 1

No. of Expt.	Substance used as surface and inductor	Amount of substance taken in grm.	Percentage amount of oxidation of glucose in presence of			
			Substance alone	Substance + 0.2880 grm. of Sodium-phosphate	Substance + 0.05 grm. of glutathione	Substance + 0.05 grm. of glutathione + 0.2880 grm. of sodium phosphate
1.	Titanium dioxide ..	1.000	19.9	22.4	31.3	49.7
2.	Silica	,"	17.5	25.7	32.9	52.2
3.	Cerous hydroxide ..	,"	100.0	100.0	97.3	84.5
4.	Ferrous	,"	39.8	71.06	34.05	63.86
5.	Manganous	,"	65.07	96.4	62.4	83.88

Table No. 2

No. of Expt.	Substance used as surface and inductor	Amount of Substance taken in grm.	Percentage amount of oxidation of glucose in presence of			
			Substance + 10 units of insulin + 0.2880 grm. of Sodium phosphate	Substance + 10 units of insulin + 0.05 grm. glutathione	Substance + 10 units of insulin + 0.05 grm. of Glutathione + 0.2880 grm. of sodium phosphate	
1.	Titanium dioxide	1.000	22.0	30.0	27.6	50.4
2.	Silica ..	"	18.1	56.1	39.16	53.98
3.	Cerous hydroxide	"	100.0	100.0	96.66	97.7
4.	Ferrous ..	"	93.76	86.3	81.8	85.26
5.	Manganous ..	"	70.5	96.79	64.2	84.7

The foregoing results recorded in Table No. 1 show that glucose is appreciably oxidised by passing air in presence of solid surfaces like titanium dioxide, silica etc. but in presence of the hydroxides of cerium, iron and manganese, which not only act as surfaces but as inductors as well, the oxidation is much greater than with titanium dioxide or silica. When sodium phosphate is added along with the surface, the oxidation is appreciably increased. When glutathione is added, the oxidation in presence of titanium dioxide and silica is also increased but with the hydroxides of cerium, iron and manganese, there is a slight decrease in the oxidation of glucose. In presence of both phosphate and glutathione, the oxidation of glucose is still further accelerated in the cases of titanium dioxide and silica but with the hydroxides of cerium, iron and manganese, the oxidation in presence of glutathione and phosphate is appreciably less than that with phosphate alone.

From the results recorded in Table No. 2, it is seen that in presence of insulin, the oxidation of glucose aided by titanium dioxide, silica, cerous hydroxide, ferrous hydroxide and manga-

nese hydroxide respectively is increased. In this respect the behaviour of insulin and glutathione is practically the same but in presence of phosphate, insulin seems also to accelerate the oxidations but glutathione appreciably retards the oxidation in presence of phosphate. A mixture of glutathione and insulin is appreciably better than either insulin or glutathione alone with titanium dioxide or silica as surface but with the inductors cerous hydroxide, ferrous hydroxide or manganous hydroxide, a mixture of insulin and glutathione appears to be less effective.

Oxidation of glucose in presence of (i) insulin, (ii) glutathione and (iii) a mixture of insulin and glutathione containing sodium phosphate and metallic chlorides as inductors.

Volume of air passed=73.0 litres in 30 hours. 10 c.c. of glucose solution=0.2308 grm. of CuO (Blank), 20 c.c. of sodium phosphate solution=0.288 grm. of sodium phosphate.

TABLE I		No. of Table	No. of Expt.	Amount of Sodium phosphate taken in 20 c.c. of Solution in grm.	Amount of glutathione added in grm.	Amount of insulin added in units.	Amount of ferric chloride in 20 c.c. of the solution taken in terms of Fe_2O_3 in grm.	Amount of cupric chloride added in grm.	Amount of manganese chloride added in grm.	Percentage amount of glucose oxidised
1	0.2880		Nil	10	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	22.2
2	"		"	"	"	0.01452	"	"	"	31.7
3	"		"	"	"	"	0.01	"	"	23.05
4	"		"	"	"	"	Nil	0.01	0.01	19.5
5	"		"	"	"	"	0.01	0.01	0.01	22.0
TABLE II										
1	0.2880	0.05	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	50.3
2	"	"	"	"	0.01452	"	"	"	"	64.4
3	"	"	"	"	"	0.01	"	"	"	56.8
4	"	"	"	"	"	Nil	0.01	0.01	0.01	55.6
5	"	"	"	"	"	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	52.5

OXIDATION OF GLUCOSE

Table VIII	Table VII	Table VI	Table V	Table IV	Table III	No. of table	No. of Expt.
				0.2880	Amount of Sodium phosphate taken in 20 c.c. of solution in grm.	Amount of insulin added in units	Amount of ferric chloride in 20 c.c. of the solution taken in terms of Fe_2O_3 in grm.
1	1	1	1	0.2880	Nil	10	Nil
2	2	2	2	"	"	"	0.001452
3	3	3	3	"	"	"	"
4	4	4	4	"	"	"	0.0001
5	5	5	5	"	"	"	Nil
							Nil
							Nil
							21.4
							24.7
							26.5
							27.1
							32.2
							Percentage amount of glucose oxidised
1	1	1	1	0.2880	Nil	10	0.0290
2	2	2	2	"	"	"	0.0001
3	3	3	3	"	"	"	Nil
4	4	4	4	"	"	"	0.0001
5	5	5	5	"	"	"	0.0001
							Nil
							Nil
							62.2
							80.4
							77.2
							81.1
1	1	1	1	0.2880	0.05	Nil	Nil
2	2	2	2	"	"	Nil	0.0001
3	3	3	3	"	"	Nil	0.0001
4	4	4	4	"	"	Nil	0.0001
5	5	5	5	"	"	Nil	0.0001
							Nil
							51.5
							57.6
							61.7
							62.4
							67.3
1	1	1	1	0.2880	0.05	Nil	0.0290
2	2	2	2	"	"	"	0.0001
3	3	3	3	"	"	Nil	0.0001
4	4	4	4	"	"	Nil	0.0001
							Nil
							77.6
							82.0
							79.8
							85.7
1	1	1	1	0.2880	0.05	10	Nil
2	2	2	2	"	"	0.01452	Nil
3	3	3	3	"	"	"	0.01
4	4	4	4	"	"	"	Nil
5	5	5	5	"	"	"	0.01
6	6	6	6	"	"	"	0.0001
							Nil
							Nil
							58.6
							68.2
							48.0
							52.5
							48.7
							72.4
1	1	1	1	0.2880	0.05	10	Nil
2	2	2	2	"	"	0.001452	Nil
3	3	3	3	"	"	"	0.0001
4	4	4	4	"	"	Nil	0.0001
5	5	5	5	"	"	0.0001	0.0001
							Nil
							Nil
							56.9
							60.3
							64.8
							65.5
							70.2

In previous publication (H. L. Dube and N. R. Dhar Jout. Phys. Chem. 1932, 36, 444) we have shown that glucose is oxidised in presence of insulin alone and the amount of oxidation increases by the addition of phosphate. From the

foregoing results in Table No. I, it is clearly seen that the amount of oxidation of glucose is appreciably increased when ferric chloride is added to a mixture of phosphate and insulin. It is also seen that the amount of oxidation of glucose is retarded by the addition of either cupric chloride or manganous chloride or a mixture of cupric and manganous chlorides to the same amount of ferric chloride. Exactly similar results are obtained using glutathione instead of insulin under identical conditions but the amount of oxidation of glucose in presence of glutathione is far greater than that in presence of insulin as will be evident from Table No. II. From the results in Tables III and IV it is noticed that the amount of oxidation of glucose in a mixture of insulin and phosphate increases with the concentration of ferric chloride. In other words, the greater the amount of ferric chloride, the greater is the amount of oxidation of glucose. Another interesting fact may be observed that with the same amount of ferric chloride, the amount of oxidation of glucose increases by the addition of very minute amount (traces) of either cupric chloride or manganous chloride or a mixture of both. Hence traces of copper or manganese occurring singly or in mixtures of both act as an accelerator in the oxidation of glucose, whereas in presence of larger amount of copper or manganese or a mixture of both, each one acts as a retarder in the oxidation. Exactly similar results are obtained using glutathione instead of insulin as will be evident from Tables Nos. IV, V and VII. In this case also the amount of oxidation of glucose in presence of glutathione is greater than that in presence of insulin.

The results in Tables VII and VIII show that the amount of oxidation of glucose in presence of a mixture of glutathione and insulin aided by phosphate and metallic salts is slightly greater than that in presence of glutathione alone.

It seems to the authors that the following agencies are important in bringing about the oxidation of food materials

not only in animal life but also in plant respiration :—

- (1) Reducing agents like glutathione, chlorogenic acid, ascorbic acid, Palladin's "respiratory chromogens" Keilin's cytochrome, Warburg's "Ovoflavin" "lactoflavin" internal secretions etc. These substances take up oxygen directly from the air and induce the oxidation of food materials.
- (2) The surface of plant and animal cells.
- (3) The presence of small quantities of iron and traces of manganese and copper compounds.
- (4) Mild alkalies and phosphates.
- (5) Sunlight.

All these agencies seem to have their relative importance in causing the oxidation of the food materials possible in the plant and animal tissues, although they are not oxidised in the air outside. There is reason to believe that in animal oxidation, the internal secretions play an important rôle. It is well known that Nature hardly depends on one agency in carrying on its mechanism and in bringing about the oxidation of glucose and other oxidisable materials seems to take recourse to the foregoing agencies, which have been shown to accelerate the oxidation of food materials by air.

Several years ago one of us stated that the internal secretions act as inductors in the oxidation of food materials (Compare Dhar—Chemie der Zelle und Gewebe 1926, 13 119). It is gratifying to note that this view is being supported by medical men and physiologists (Compare S. Wright's Applied Physiology, Oxford University Press 1931 page 402).

S U M M A R Y

1. Glucose is appreciably oxidised by passing air in presence of solid surfaces like titanium dioxide, silica, cerium hydroxide, ferrous hydroxide, manganous hydroxide. The

oxidation in the case of these hydroxides which also act as inductors, is much greater than with titanium dioxide or silica. In presence of sodium phosphate, the oxidation aided by the above substances is appreciably increased.

2. In presence of glutathione, the oxidation with titanium dioxide or silica is also increased, but with the hydroxides, there is a slight decrease in the oxidation.

3. In presence of both phosphate and glutathione, the oxidation of glucose is still further increased, but with the hydroxides, the oxidation is appreciably decreased and is less than that in presence of phosphate alone.

4. In presence of insulin, the oxidation of glucose, with titanium dioxide, silica, and the hydroxides increases. In this respect the behaviour of insulin and glutathione is practically the same. In presence of phosphate, insulin accelerates the oxidations but glutathione retards them. A mixture of insulin and glutathione acts better than either insulin or glutathione with titanium dioxide or silica and appears to be less effective with the hydroxides as inductors.

5. The amount of oxidation of glucose is appreciably increased when ferric chloride is added to a mixture of insulin and phosphate or of glutathione and phosphate, the oxidation in the latter being much greater than in the former.

6. The oxidation in a mixture of insulin and phosphate or of glutathione and phosphate increases with the concentration of ferric chloride. Traces of copper or manganese occurring singly or in mixtures of both, act as an accelerator, but in presence of larger amounts of the same, each one acts as a retarder in the oxidation of glucose in presence of either insulin and phosphate or glutathione and phosphate.

7. In presence of a mixture of insulin and glutathione aided by phosphate and metallic salts the oxidation is slightly greater than that of glutathione alone.

8. Reducing agents like glutathione, chlorogenic acid,

ascorbic acid, internal secretions etc., act as inductors taking up oxygen directly from air and thus induce the oxidations of food materials.

*Chemical Laboratory
Allahabad University
Allahabad*

NITROGEN FIXATION AND AZOTOBACTER COUNT ON THE APPLICATION OF MOLASSES AND SUGARS TO THE SOIL IN FIELDS

PART I

By E. V. SESHACHARYULU

In publications from this laboratory it has been shown by Dhar and Mukerji that nitrogen fixation takes place on the addition of energy-rich substances like sugars (cane-sugar and glucose) or molasses to the soil. They have shown that the fixation of nitrogen not only takes place in ordinary soils but also in sterilised soils on the addition of energy-rich materials, when exposed to sunlight. From the results of their experiments, the above authors have concluded that nitrogen fixation in tropical soils is not only a bacterial process but due also to the photo-chemical and induced oxidations going on side by side since soil contains oxides of metals like iron, manganese, titanium etc. and is exposed to sunlight for several hours daily.

According to the bacterial theory the nitrogen fixation is due to the non-symbiotic organisms such as clostridium and Azotobacter which are partially responsible for the fertility of soils leaving apart the symbiotic bacteria leguminosæ. Clostridium works more or less under ærobic conditions and thus it seems probable that the nitrogen obtained from the air by this organism does not add any considerable quantity to the soil supply under ærobic conditions. The other organism namely Azotobacter is present in abundance in all tropical soils. This organism is aerobic and is mainly responsible for the non-symbiotic fixation of nitrogen from air. Many workers have shown that Azotobacter in culture media fixes atmos-

pheric nitrogen on the addition of energy-rich substances like carbohydrates and increase in numbers with increase of fixation of nitrogen. But so far nobody has been definite about the nitrogen fixation in field conditions due to Azotobacter.

No quantitative work has been done either in cultures or in soil under natural conditons to obtain a relation between the actual increase in the Azotobacter numbers and the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen on the addition of energy-rich substances like carbohydrates. The present investigation was therefore undertaken by the author to determine how the Azotobacter in soils under natural conditions will be affected by the application of molasses which contains about 60 % of carbohydrates and whether there is any correlation between the Azotobacter numbers and the amount of fixation of atmospheric nitrogen. Another aim of the present work is to ascertain whether the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen in tropical soils is mainly a bacterial process or due also to other agencies namely photochemical and induced or catalytic oxidations.

Different amounts of molasses 10 and 30 Kilograms were added to two equal plots of land of area 144 sq. ft. in the University grounds and a third plot of equal area was kept as control without the addition of molasses. The Azotobacter count and the nitrogen estimations (ammoniacal, nitric and total nitrogen) of all the three plots were made before the addition of molasses. The plots were dug up twice a month and the same amount of water was added to the three plots at the same time. At regular intervals the Azotobacter count and the nitrogen estimations of the plots were done.

The following conclusions were drawn by the author as a result of the experimental results :—

- (i) Azotobacter numbers do increase in abundance and reach a maximum where they remain more or less stationary and help the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen when molasses or sugars are added to the soil.

- (2) No correlation or direct proportionality between the Azotobacter numbers and the nitrogen fixed is observed.
- (3) In the control plot Azotobacter numbers remain more or less stationary.
- (4) Nitrogen fixation in the tropical soils is not mainly a bacterial process but being aided by photo-chemical and induced or catalytic oxidations going on simultaneously.
- (5) Not only the available nitrogen but also the total nitrogen of the plots increases considerably on the application of molasses.
- (6) Moisture content of the molassed plots is always greater than the control.

SECTION II
PHYSICS

A CRITICAL STUDY OF ACTIVE NITROGEN PHENOMENON

By L. S. MATHUR

(*Physics Department, Allahabad University*)

INTRODUCTION

The first observation on what is now called Active Nitrogen appears to have been made by E. Warburg¹ in 1884, who found that if a discharge is passed through Nitrogen in presence of traces of Oxygen a 'whitish, shimmering cloud' appears in the tube. But the first systematic experiments on pure Nitrogen were performed by E. P. Lewis² in 1902, in Warburg's laboratory at the university of Berlin. Lewis showed that the glow can be produced when a disruptive discharge is passed through flowing Nitrogen gas. The glow persists much farther away from the electrodes in the flowing gas; he naturally concluded that the gas is activated in the discharge space, but continues to show this activity for some time even after the discharge is withdrawn. Many important observations on the spectrum of the afterglow, as it was called, were performed by E. P. Lewis. The spectroscopy of the afterglow was carried out in great detail by Fowler and Strutt³ (Lord Rayleigh II) between the years 1911-1918 and Lord Rayleigh continued to perform many interesting observations alone.

The first theory of the phenomenon was given by M. N. Saha and N. K. Sur⁴ in 1926, and the theory has had amazing adventures in subsequent years. In spite of the enormous amount of work the phenomenon appears to be still mysterious. I have therefore, in the present article attempted to make an exhaustive and critical survey of all experimental and theoretical investigations on the subject.

EXPERIMENTAL METHODS FOR PRODUCING ACTIVE NITROGEN

The activated form of Nitrogen is usually prepared by two methods—(1) By passing a condensed discharge (also called disruptive discharge) in a current of purified Nitrogen (2) By an electrodeless discharge in a bulb filled with gas under low pressure.

(1) In the first method, Active Nitrogen is produced by introducing Nitrogen into a discharge tube whose electrodes are made up of either Al, Pt or W; these are attached to the secondary terminals of a large induction coil or to the terminals of a 22,000 volt transformer. This method was first developed by E. P. Lewis who used the following arrangement :—

The discharge was passed from an induction coil. Across the secondary terminals a condenser was placed while a spark gap was placed in series as shown in Fig. 1.

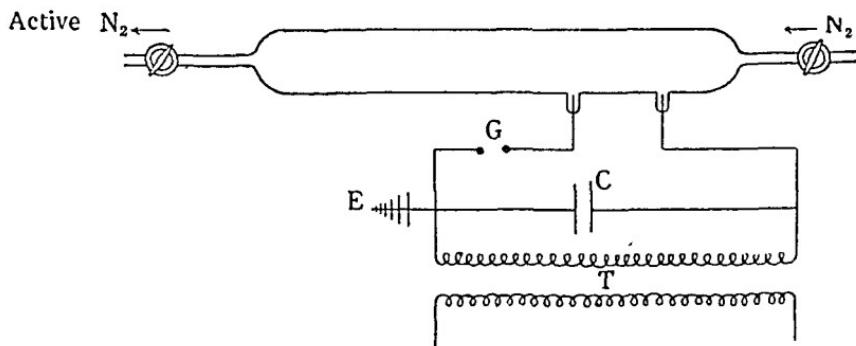


Fig. 1

A continuous stream of Nitrogen was passed at low pressure through the exciting tube. From here it was drawn into a side tube provided with quartz-windows, so that the spectrum could be photographed end-on.

Spurious results may, however, vitiate the experiment when this method of excitation is used. It is often observed that the Second Positive bands together with the lines of N

and N^+ are present when proper precautions are not taken to eliminate stray light from the exciting discharge. Sometimes the earthing arrangements are not good and stray discharge may pass through the afterglow space. These spurious effects are eliminated by two methods: (1) by use of the method of sectored disc, (2) By giving several rectangular bends to the observation tube, so that stray light from the exciting discharge does not fall on the afterglow space.

The sectored disc method is due to E. P. Lewis². In this a large metallic disc provided with ten projecting sectors with intervals of several centimeters between them was used. These acted as intermittent screens when the disc was rotated at a uniform rate by a motor. An adjustable contact allowed the current to be broken at any given phase of the sector. Thus the afterglow space was exposed only when the discharge was actually cut off.

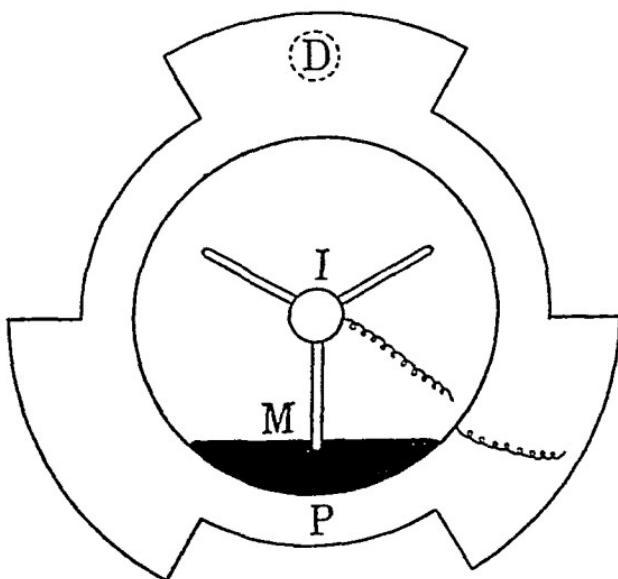


Fig. 2

Johnson and Jenkins⁵ have also described in their experiments the same type of magnetic interrupter. It was introduced into the primary circuit of an induction coil. The inter-

rupter had three solenoidal coils corresponding to three prongs I placed at 120° , which made periodic contact with a mercury surface M as shown in Fig. 2. A disc P consisting of three sections of 60° angle was fixed to the axle of the interrupter and 'tuned' so that observation of the light from the tube D was possible only when the discharge current was off.

The second method of cutting off stray light is to bend the discharge tube at right angles to the observation tube and to put one or two earthed metallic gauges in the way of the flowing activated gas, so that the discharge is all conducted to earth and nothing passes through the afterglow. This was done by Kichlu and Acharya⁶.

(2) Later experiments have shown that the afterglow is also generated when an electrodeless ring discharge is passed

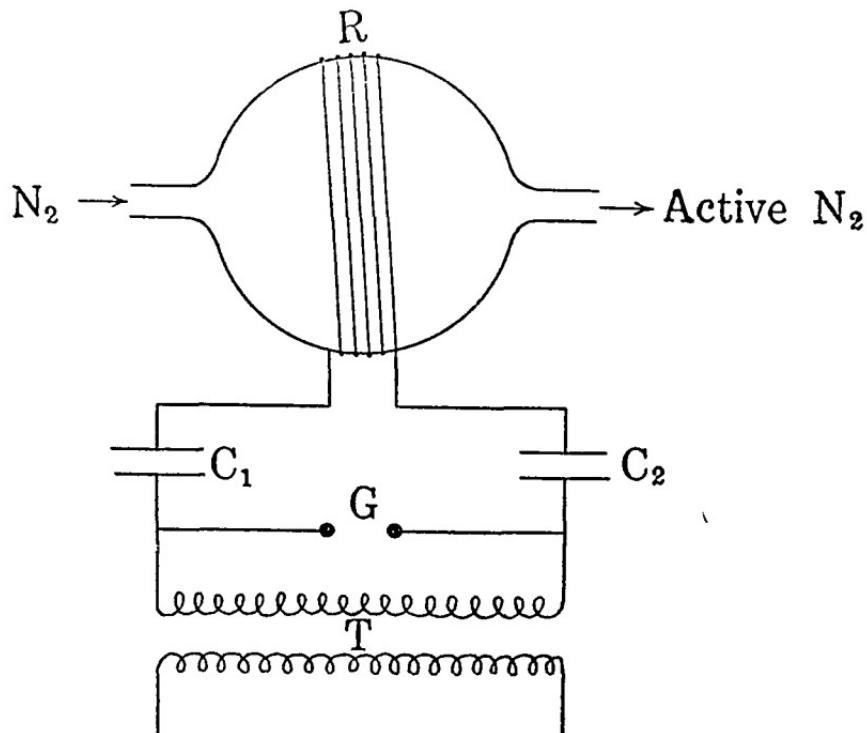


Fig. 3

in a bulb filled with Nitrogen at appropriate low pressure. The pyrex bulb of a suitable size was employed. A coil of a

few turns was placed along the diameter of the bulb and connected to an oil-insulated condenser of $0.11\mu F$ capacity as shown in Fig. 3.

The other sides of condensers $C_1 C_2$ were connected to a transformer rated at 24000 volts and sixty cycles. A spark-gap G of 1 cm. was placed across the terminals of the condenser and an air-blast was allowed to play on it. The uniform flow of the gas through the bulb was regulated by introducing the gas through a reservoir A of considerable size and then through a capillary tube B to the bulb D as shown in Fig. 4. The reservoir A was connected to a graduated manometer C which keeps the pressure within it constant. The pressure within A is kept at about 80 cms. of mercury. Lord Rayleigh⁷ employed a standard pressure of 0.0035 cm. to obtain the electrodeless ring discharge.

Nitrogen employed in these experiments can be prepared (1) By any chemical means e.g., a pure variety of Nitrogen is obtained by heating BaN as shown by Tiede⁸ and Domcke (2) Commercial Nitrogen cylinders can be employed in which case the gas has to pass through a series of tubes containing purifiers principally (a) Alkaline Pyrogallol solution [22% aqueous solution of Pyrogallol mixed with five or six times as much KOH solution (3 : 2)] whch will remove the excess of Oxygen present in the gas (b) Phosphorus Pentoxide (c) Potassium Hydroxide (d) Calcium Chloride, to remove the last traces of moisture. If an aspirator is used as a reservoir for Nitrogen then the gas can be pumped by means of a Gaede Pump and the exhaust gas can again be pumped back to the reservoir. Thus the whole arrangement becomes automatic and long exposures can be given at a time.

SPECTRUM OF THE AFTERGLOW

Perhaps, next to the persistence of the afterglow, the spectrum itself is the most interesting phenomenon, in the study of the active modification of Nitrogen.

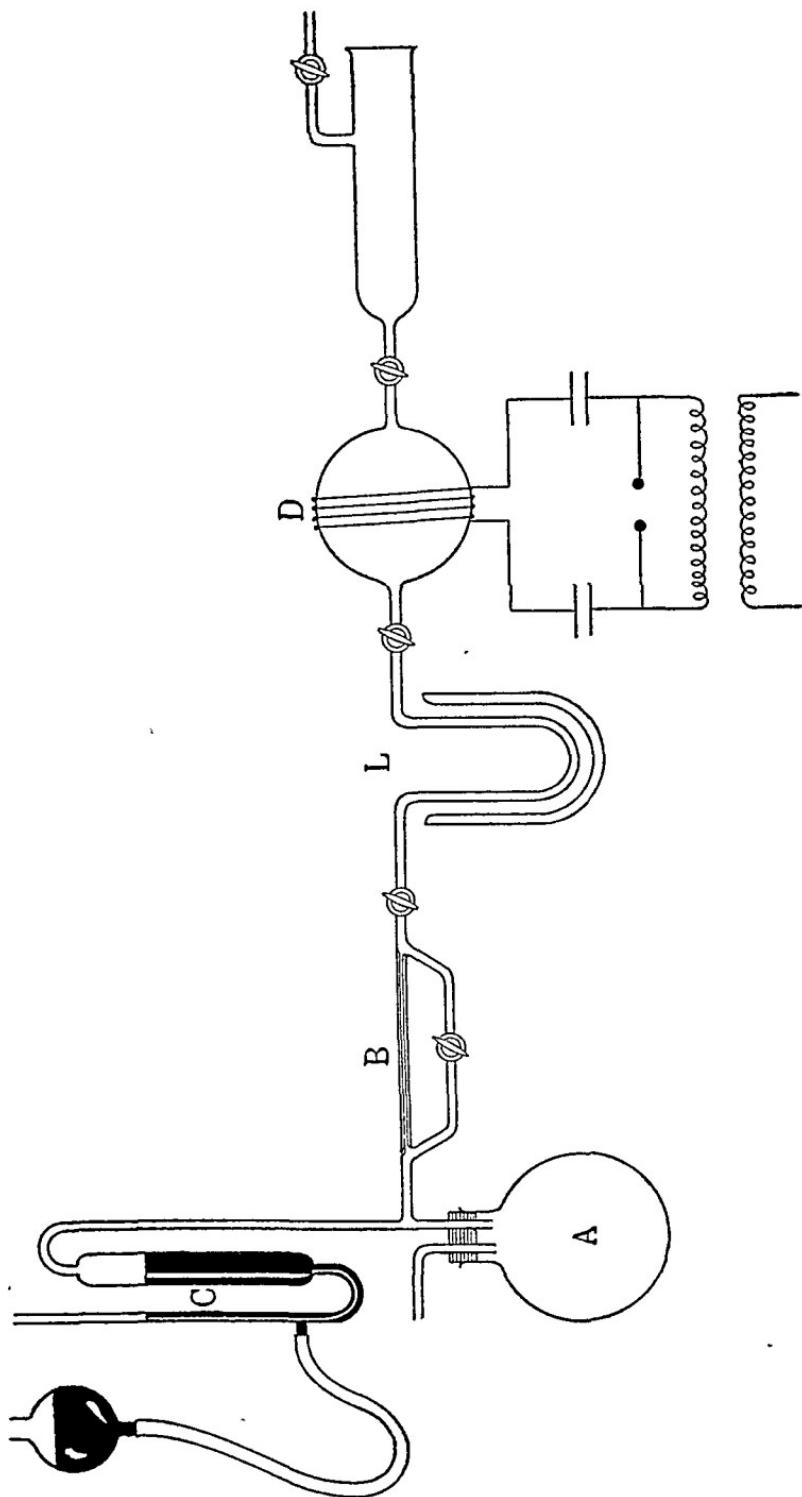


Fig. 4

E. P. Lewis² in his original work found that the spectrum of the afterglow was quite characteristic. He observed that by using a sectored disc for the observation of the afterglow the Second Positive group of N₂ bands does not occur while the members of the First Positive group persisted and there were also a few lines due to foreign atoms, like $\lambda 5461$ of the Mercury atom. Some of the bands of his plates remained unidentified and their origin was clearly established through the work of Fowler and Strutt.

In the early stages of their investigations on the active modification of Nitrogen, Fowler and Strutt found that the so-called afterglow spectrum consisted of three groups of bands which they termed α , β and γ bands of the afterglow spectrum. The wave-lengths and wave-numbers of these bands are given in tables 1, 2, 3.

Table I. *Visible α -bands of the Afterglow*

S. No.	Wave-length A°. U.	Frequency cm. ⁻¹	Intensity
1	6322.73	15812	2
2	6252.81	15989	5
3	6185.44	16163	7
4	5854.69	17076	4
5	5804.28	17224	10
6	5755.20	17371	8
7	5442.25	18370	1
8	5407.08	18489	5
9	5372.78	18607	5
10	5053.6	19782	2
11	6030.8	19872	2

Table 2. β -bands of the Afterglow

S. No.	Wave-length A°. U.	Frequency cm. ⁻¹	Intensity
1	4312.3 } 4296.5 }	23183 } 23268 }	1
2	4042.8 } 4028.7 }	24728 } 24815 }	2
3	3801.9 } 3789.3 }	26295 } 26383 }	4
4	3584.7 } 3572.9 }	27888 } 27981 }	6
5	3387.2 } 3376.8 }	29514 } 29605 }	9
6	3207.4 } 3198.4 }	31169 } 31257 }	10
7	3043.2 } 3035.0 }	32851 } 32940 }	10
8	2893.0 } 2885.4 }	34556 } 34647 }	9
9	2754.5 } 2747.9 }	36294 } 36381 }	7
10	2626.9 } 2620.9 }	38057 } 38144 }	4
11	2509.0 } 2503.2 }	39845 } 39937 }	1
12	2951.2 } 2944.0 }	33875 } 33958 }	2
13	2923.8 } 2916.2 }	34192 } 34281 }	2
14	2809.7 } 2802.7 }	35581 } 35670 }	2
15	2786.5 } 2780.1 }	35877 } 35690 }	2

S. No.	Wave-length A°. U.	Frequency cm. ⁻¹	Intensity
16	2732.2 } 2726.0 }	36590 } 36673 }	1
17	2678.8 } 2672.9 }	37319 } 37402 }	3
18	2608.6 } 2602.9 }	38324 } 38408 }	2
19	2558.0 } 2552.3 }	39082 } 39169 }	2
20	2542.8 } 2537.1 }	39315 } 39404 }	1
21	2493.9 } 2488.3 }	40086 } 40176 }	3
22	2433.2 } 2428.2 }	41086 } 41171 }	3
23	2387.0 } 2382.3 }	41881 } 41964 }	1
24	2331.5 } 2326.8 }	42878 } 42965 }	2
25	2236.1 } 2232.3 }	44707 } 44783 }	1

Table 3. γ -bands of the Afterglow

S. No.	Wave-length A°. U.	Frequency cm. ⁻¹	Intensity
1	3009.55	33217	..
2	2859.80	34957	..
3	2722.43	36721	..
4	2595.80	30512	..
5	2478.90	40328	..
6	2370.38	42174	..
7	2269.57	44047	..
8	2154.80	46493	..

In the later investigations of Fowler and Strutt, it was definitely proved that the visible group of bands designated by α -bands consists of a selection of the First Positive bands of Nitrogen, while the β and γ bands are really the members of the band systems of the NO-molecule which is probably formed in the observation tube due to the presence of Oxygen or compounds of Oxygen. Their experiments showed that β and γ bands were not connected with the α -group and their intensity depended to a great extent on the presence or absence of Oxygen or Oxygen yielding compounds. In fact they were able to remove all these bands completely by proper purification of the sample of Nitrogen giving rise to the afterglow.

It was thus shown without question that the α -group of bands of the afterglow spectrum was merely a few bands belonging to the First Positive Group of Nitrogen with different relative intensities from those when this group is obtained by the usual electric discharge.

An infra-red spectrum of the afterglow taken by Kichlu and Acharya revealed the most important fact that while in the visible and ultra-violet there is a peculiar selection of the First Positive bands, in the infra-red the afterglow bands appeared without any particular distinction. The infra-red afterglow was studied further by G. Cario⁹ only recently. He obtained (12, 12), (11, 11) bands of this group and at the limit of the red region found that (4, 1) band appeared with enhanced intensity.

To sum up, we may say that the spectrum of the afterglow comprises only some of the bands of the First Positive Group of Nitrogen. In fact all the bands from $v'=4$ to $v'=13$ are observed with an anomalous distribution of intensity. All the afterglow bands so far observed by different authors have been enclosed within a closed boundary indicated in Table 4 with thick lines.

Table 4. The First Positive Group of Nitrogen

$\Delta V''$	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
0	10505																		
1	8910	10235																	
2	7753	8722	9939																
3	6876	76227	8542	9681															
4	6188	6790	7325	8370	9436	10779													
5	5634	6129	6706	7388	8206	9203	10446												
6	5394	6071	6625	7275	8048	8983	10736												
7		5535	6015	6546	7165	7899	8787	9843											
8			5316	5960	6469	7060	7753	8575	9568										
9				5479	5906	6395	6958	7613	8386	9308									
10					5442	5854	6323	6839	7480	8206	9064	10094							
11						5053	5406	5704	6252	6764	7352	8032	8832	9781					
12							5031	5371	5733	6184	6672	7228	7868	8613	9487				
13								5337	5705	6118	6582	7109	7711	8405	9212				
14									5330	5638	6033	6496	6993	7560	8208	8953			
15										5220	5612	5990	6472	6884	7417	8021	8709		

Table 5. Observed & calculated intensities of α -bands of Active Nitrogen

Transition	λ A°. U. Kneser ¹⁰	Active Nitrogen		Ordinary discharge	
		Intensity observed in α -band by Kneser ¹⁰	Intensity of α -bands by Fowler ² .	Intensity in 1st+ve bands by McLennan and Rudy ¹¹	Intensity calculated by Caval- loni ¹² .
4-1	6788	2		4	4.4
5-2	6704	4		5	10.5
6-3	6624	6		5	7.9
6-2	6070	3		2	2.4
7-4	6545	4		5	6.9
7-3	6014	1		3	3.1
8-5	6469	2		5	5.8
8-4	5959	1		3	3.6
9-6	6394	3		6	4.6
9-5	5906	2		5	4.1
10-7	6323	6	2	4	2.9
10-6	5855	6	4	5	4.7
10-5	5442	2	1	1	..
11-8	6252	10	5	3	1.9
11-7	5804	10	10	0	5.0
11-6	5407	8	5	0	..
12-9	6185	5	1	0	1.4
12-8	5755	6	8	4	4.5
12-7	5375	5	5	0	
11-5	5053		2		
12-6	5031		2		

It will be interesting to note their peculiar intensities as compared with the normal spectrogram of the First Positive bands. Theoretical and observed intensities of these bands are given in Table 5.

Johnson and Jenkins⁵, Okubo and Hamada¹³, have conclusively proved that the Second Positive bands of N_2 are definitely absent from the spectrum of the light of the afterglow, provided it is free from the stray light which comes from the exciting discharge due to internal reflections.

PRESENCE OF ATOMIC NITROGEN

In a previous account¹⁴ regarding the theories which attempt to offer rather imperfectly the explanation of this interesting phenomenon, we tried to show that atomic Nitrogen cannot exist in a segregated afterglow which is found to persist for extraordinarily long periods. It will be enough to mention here that the direct experiments like those of Wrede,¹⁵ Broadway, and Jackson¹⁶ are investigations in which the contents of the discharge space have been allowed to mingle with the molecules producing the afterglow. Therefore it cannot be established definitely that atomic Nitrogen exists in the space where the observations are made on the afterglow. Spectroscopic experiments such as those of Kichlu and Acharya¹⁷ to search the resonance lines of Nitrogen also give negative results. In view of these conclusions we are led to believe that atomic Nitrogen has nothing to do with the production and persistence of the afterglow.

PRESENCE OF IONISED NITROGEN

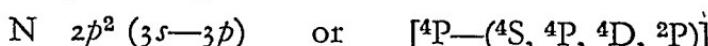
Careful experiments to detect the presence of ions in the afterglow have also given negative results although the original results of Fowler and Strutt³ lead to the conclusion that the conductivity of the gas is of the order of a salted Bunsen flame. This is probably due to the fact that there is a leakage of

charge from the discharge space to the experimental space. When adequate precaution is taken for removing all ions in the flowing Nitrogen gas by means of a number of grids placed in the path of the gas, which are connected to the earth, the gas flowing beyond the grids still shows the afterglow phenomenon, but no electrical conductivity is observed.

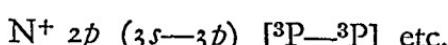
SPECTRUM OF THE EXCITING DISCHARGE

It will be important to compare the spectrum of the afterglow with that of the exciting discharge. It was noticed long ago by Fowler and Strutt that an ordinary discharge in Nitrogen producing only the line spectrum fails to develop the afterglow. They further noticed that even if a condensed discharge is employed in such a manner that the band spectrum is not developed then the afterglow also does not appear. The effect of the condenser is to reduce the intensity of the First Positive bands, to heighten that of the Second Positive bands and to suppress that of the Third Positive bands. They found that in addition to the above-mentioned bands a new series of Nitrogen bands appeared which were not recorded before and in conformity with Deslandres terminology designated them as "Fourth Positive" bands. They, however, form a characteristic feature of the spectrum producing the afterglow.

Herzberg¹⁸ made a systematic study of the spectrum of the afterglow discharge and found that the arc lines of Nitrogen in the red and in the infra-red are present in the spectrum of the exciting discharge.



The spark lines due to the transitions



were also observed.

It is mentioned that the arc lines and the spark lines in the exciting discharge occur with great intensity before an

intensive afterglow can occur. In a discharge which is just not giving the afterglow these also do not occur. The spark lines become less intense at high pressure but the correlation between the appearance of the arc lines and the production of the afterglow is not very striking.

Bay and Steiner¹⁹ also confirmed the results of Herzberg and showed that the arc spectrum of N appears in the negative glow of the activated gas and further in the same glow the red and the ultra-violet arc lines of Nitrogen are also to be found.

EFFECT OF SURFACES

It has been noticed by all workers that surfaces have got a marked effect on the persistence of the afterglow. It was early observed by Willey²⁰ that a piece of gauge covered with black oxide of copper at once destroyed the afterglow. Recently Lord Rayleigh⁷ has shown that the deactivating influence of surfaces can be entirely removed by treating the surface with either a thin layer of Sulphuric Acid or Meta-phosphoric Acid. Bulbs whose surfaces have been rinsed with these reagents preserve the afterglow for a period of about six hours. Lord Rayleigh tried to find out the law of decay of luminosity for the Active modification of Nitrogen possessing such a long life.

VARIATION OF THE LUMINOSITY OF AFTERGLOW WITH TIME

It has been found that the luminosity of the afterglow varies with time in a definite manner. From the law of decay of luminosity it has been possible to determine the type of chemical change—whether it is monomolecular or bi-molecular change. The theory of the method is given below.

In an elementary process, let there be α active particles and β molecules and let their number per unit volume be n

and N respectively. Then the number of elementary processes for an element of time dt is proportional to $n^\alpha N^\beta dt$.

$$-dn = \Lambda n^\alpha N^\beta dt.$$

$$\text{or } -\frac{dn}{n^\alpha} = \Lambda N^\beta dt.$$

$$\text{or } \frac{n^{1-\alpha}}{\alpha-1} = \Lambda N^\beta dt.$$

$$n = [(a-1)(\Lambda N^\beta t + C)]^{1/(1-\alpha)}$$

Now the intensity I is given by

$$I = -B \frac{dn}{dt}$$

$$= AB n^\alpha N^\beta$$

$$\therefore I = ABN^\beta [(\alpha-1)(\Lambda N^\beta t + C)]^{\alpha/I-\alpha}$$

When $\alpha=1$, it is a monomolecular change.

$\alpha=2$, , , bi-molecular change.

$\alpha=3$, , , tri-molecular change.

Now for a monomolecular change

$$I = ABN^\beta e^{-\Lambda N^\beta t + C}$$

i.e. $\log I$ varies exponentially with time for a mono-molecular change.

For a bi-molecular change $\alpha=2$.

$$I = ABN^\beta (\Lambda N^\beta t + C)^{-2}$$

$$\text{or } \frac{I}{\sqrt{I}} = ABN^\beta (\Lambda N^\beta t + C)$$

$$\frac{I}{\sqrt{I}} = \text{Constant} \times t + \text{Constant}.$$

i.e. $\frac{I}{\sqrt{I}}$ varies directly as the time interval for a bi-molecular change.

For a tri-molecular change $\alpha=3$.

$$I = ABN^\beta [z (AN^\beta t + C)]^{-3/2}$$

$$\text{or } \frac{I}{t^{3/2}} = \text{Constant} \times t + \text{Constant.}$$

i.e. $\frac{I}{t^{3/2}}$ varies directly with time interval t for a tri-molecular change.

Different workers like Angerer²¹, Rudy²², Kneser²³, König²⁴ and Klinkmann, Willey²⁵ and Lord Rayleigh³ have tried to find out the law of decay of the afterglow and the nature of the chemical change therefrom.

Angerer investigated the rate of diminution of the afterglow with time with the help of a photo-electric cell. The light of the afterglow was allowed to fall on the photo-electric cell which was connected to a quadrant electrometer of which the deflection was observed from second to second. The diagram of the apparatus employed is shown in the figure below.

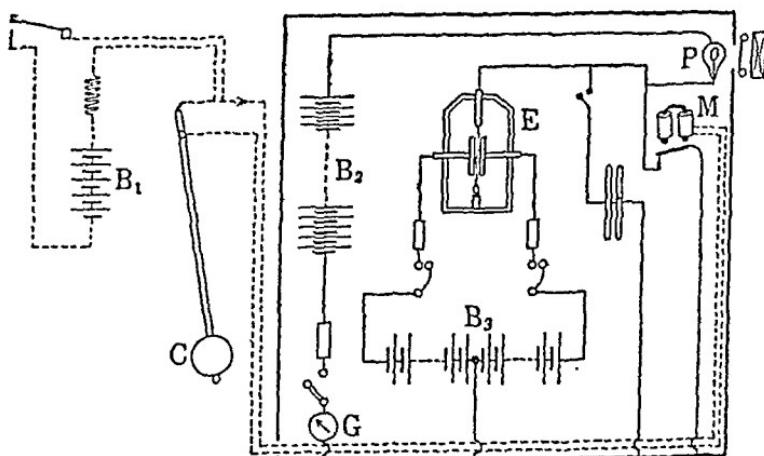


Fig. 5

P—Photo-electric cell, M—Electromagnet, E—Electrometer

B_1 , B_2 , B_3 —Batteries, and G—Galvanometer.

The results obtained showed that the square root of the

intensity of the afterglow is inversely proportional to the time. This leads to the conclusion that the law of decay of the afterglow corresponds to a bi-molecular change.

The work of Kneser²³ on the decay of the afterglow is very much similar to that of Angerer²⁴. Only in place of a photo-electric cell, a visual photometer is employed which produces a matching of the two fields (one due to the luminosity of the glow and the other due to a standard source) as observed through a Lummer Cube, which gave measures of the intensity at a particular instant. The result as before showed that the decay of the afterglow of Active Nitrogen follows the law of a bi-molecular chemical change.

In the experimental arrangement of Lord Rayleigh³ for the observation of the decay of luminosity, a visual photometer was employed which he used in his previous investigations of

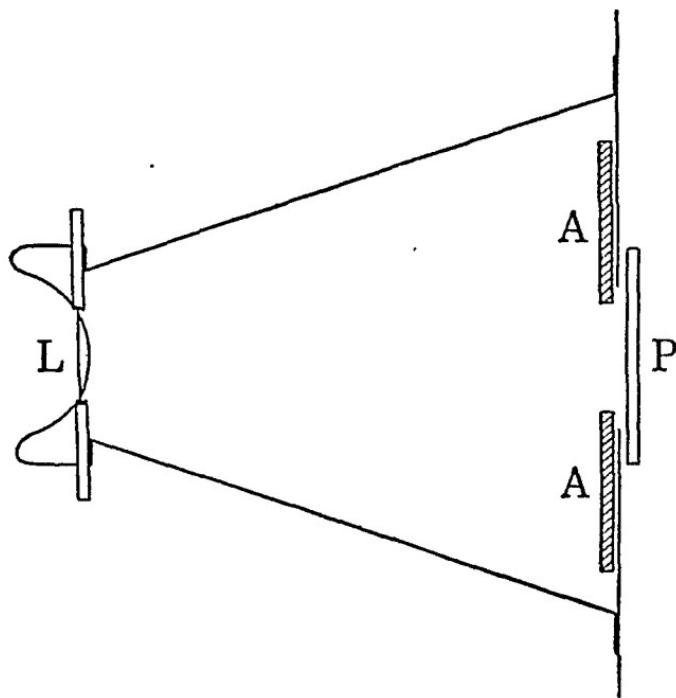


Fig. 6

the photometry of the night sky spectrum. The luminosity of the afterglow was matched against a standard source of light. The

standard source of light was a flat crystal of Potassium Uranyl Sulphate which was mounted in a tube as shown in Fig. 6. A convex lens L of short focal length could be focussed on the luminous crystal P, (self-luminous by its own radio-activity). The brightness of the afterglow was equalised by means of neutral glasses placed over the surface of the bulb in the region of observation. The neutral glasses were also selected so that the density (\log_{10} Opacity) could be increased in steps of 0.10. The introduction of each neutral glass diminished the intensity in the ratio 2 : 1. The time for the matching of the successive stages of luminosity was determined. The intensity was thus known at different times. A curve was now plotted between $\frac{I}{\sqrt{t}}$ and t which was found to be a straight line. It may, however, be mentioned that the straight line obtained by plotting $\frac{I}{t^{3/2}}$ against t was in better agreement with observed values, but Lord Rayleigh from general considerations seems to prefer a bi-molecular chemical change to a tri-molecular one. Anyhow, the glow is definitely not mono-molecular.

By using different kinds of coatings in the bulb containing the afterglow, Lord Rayleigh came to some very important conclusions. He found that in an uncoated bulb, bulb coated with Apiezon oil, or any other, catalytic destroyer of the afterglow, the law of decay of luminosity is exponential and corresponds almost to a mono-molecular change. Secondly, in the early stages of luminosity in bulbs whose surfaces have been specially treated to overcome the catalytic action of the walls, the law of decay is the same as that of uncoated or Apiezon-coated bulb. After lapse of a certain time the law becomes entirely bi-molecular.

Further, he observed that the result of suddenly compressing the gas was more or less identical with the observations of Fowler and Strutt. On compressing the gas the

glow increased but when the original volume was restored the luminosity did not attain its intensity as it would have done had the glow decayed at constant volume. Lord Rayleigh's conclusion is that the decay is more rapid at higher concentration and the order of reaction is higher than the first.

REACTIONS OF ACTIVE NITROGEN WITH ATOMS

The great activity of Nitrogen in the afterglowing state is ascribed to its unusual chemical reactivity. Nitrogen in ordinary state fails to combine practically with any element, but in the activated state it immediately forms nitride of the element and excites the atom spectroscopically. According to the original hypothesis of Saha and Sur⁴, the molecule of Nitrogen in the active modification is loaded with a definite amount of energy which is transferred to the foreign atom or molecule present in the afterglow space by collisions of the second type. We shall come to a discussion of the rival theories just a little later, meanwhile we shall attempt to collect all the facts which give us an idea of the energy-content of the excited molecule.

The best way of estimating the energy of the excited molecules is to make them collide with vapours of such atoms whose energy levels are completely known and which do not chemically react with the Active Nitrogen. But all the elements form nitrides with Active Nitrogen, hence it is best to confine our attention to spectra of the atoms and molecules. Early experiments on this line were carried out by E. P. Lewis, Fowler and Strutt, but these were more or less of a qualitative nature. The real quantitative work in this line began after the announcement of the theory propounded by Saha and Sur. The central idea was to find out the highest excitation level of different elements from which the total energy content of the molecule could be deduced.

The first experimental work on the excitation of metallic spectra in Active Nitrogen after the publication of Saha's theory

was that of Ruark, Foote, Rudnick and Chenault.²⁶ Their experimental arrangement is given in Fig. 7. An electrodeless discharge was passed in a bulb D about 30 cms. in diameter.

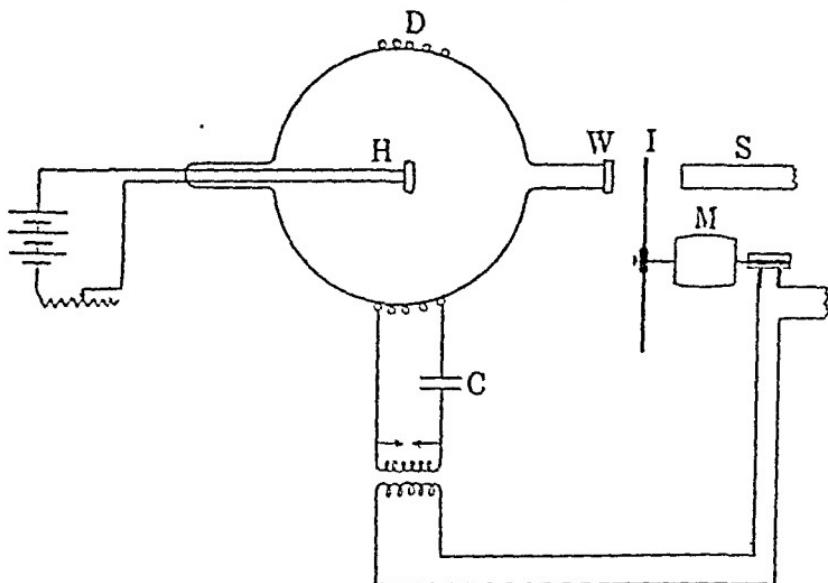


Fig. 7

The observation of the light from the bulb was made through a sectored disc I carrying a commutator on its axle as shown in the figure. At the centre of the bulb was a small crucible surrounded by a heater H of nichrome wire which contained the metal to be vaporised. During the course of the experiment nitrides of the metals accumulate in considerable amounts. Nearly all the nitrides are explosive and some are dangerously so. In the case of Mercury, the nitride is formed in the discharge and in the succeeding discharge it is broken up so that the pressure of the Nitrogen in the bulb remains constant, thus enabling the use of a bulb sealed with Nitrogen under a suitable pressure. Ruark investigated the spectra of Hg, Zn, Mg, Tl and Cd. Their results were not very conclusive.

Okubo and Hamada¹³ performed a more systematic study of the spectra of Hg, Cd, Zn, Mg, Na, K, Tl, and Ca. They used the condensed discharge method of the production of the

afterglow and took great care to avoid all stray light and stray discharge entering the observation tube. A bulb of pyrex glass or fused silica was placed sideways in an observation tube and the metal was heated in a Bunsen flame. Light was always observed end-on through a quartz window.

In all these experiments the arc spectrum was excited almost completely whereas the spark spectrum did not appear. It will be interesting to note that the excitation potential of the resonance lines of Ca^+ is about 9.26 volts and the highest level excited by Active Nitrogen is in the case of Mercury atom corresponding to the excitation potential of 9.51 volts. It thus appears that Calcium would not only be ionised by Active Nitrogen but the metallic ion so formed can be excited to give the resonance lines H and K. The experiment is difficult to perform because as soon as the active gas comes into contact with Calcium, the nitride of the metal is immediately formed, thus destroying the possibility of ever observing the resonance lines of Ca^+ .

Another aspect of the work of the above-mentioned authors is the total energy-content of the activated molecule. They obtained a very sharp limit of 9.51 volts. When Active Nitrogen was allowed to act on Mercury vapour the $2\ 3P - 4\ 3D$ line ($\lambda 2652$ A. U., $E=9.51$ volts) was excited while the next line $2\ 3P - 5\ 3D$ was not obtained. From these results the authors conclude that when the excited molecule gets deactivated it loses the energy 9.51 volts. This finding is in agreement with all the observed results collected together in Table 6.

In column 5 of the table the highest energy level in the case of each element is given and it will be seen that all the other highest levels in the individual cases are below 9.51 volts. A brief summary of the details of the spectra of different elements examined are given in the last column of the said table.

Table 6. Atomic Spectra excited in Active Nitrogen

Element	Line of highest excitation	Series classification	Highest Level cm ⁻¹	Energy value volts	Brief Description
Hg.	2654.52	6s6p ³ P- 6s8s ³ D	7096	9.51	E. P. Lewis observed that λ_{2537} of Hg. was very strong due to the vapour from the pump. Fowler and Strutt observed that the entire arc spectrum of Mercury is developed in Active Nitrogen and all the lines belong to triplet series and include the lines of first and second subordinate series. Okubo and Hamada found that the highest level observed was 4d corresponding to the excitation potential of 9.51 volts; but triplet lines $\lambda_{2925}, 2576, 2464, 2805, 2484, 2378$ were not observed although the excitation potentials of these lines is only about .14 volt and .32 volt greater than the former. Ruark, however, found that series numbers upto 10.0 volts energy. Mercury nitride was obtained which is explosive. Hg. vapour is found not to be ionised (Constantinides, <i>Phys. Rev.</i> , 30, 95, 1927).
Cd.	2640	3P ₂ -3D	4546	8.39	Ruark failed to obtain the lines of this metal and remarked that it destroys the afterglow. Okubo and Hamada obtained a large number of arc lines of which λ_{2640} has the highest excitation.
Zn.	2409	3P ₂ -3D	1378	9.18	Using electrodes of Zinc, Lewis obtained the Zinc lines $\lambda_{4811}, 4722, 4680, 3345, 3303, 3282, 3072, 3035, 3018, 2801, 2771, 2756$. Okubo and Hamada observed a large number of additional lines and found that the highest level obtained was 9d.

Element	Line of highest excitation	Series classification	Highest Level cm^{-1}	Energy value volts	Brief Description
Mg.	2783	$3s3p^3P-3p^2$	3P 2838	7	Lord Rayleigh and Fowler observed the arc lines 4571.33, 3838.44, 3336.83, found that the spectrum was intermediate between a flame and an arc. Okubo and Hamada observed in addition $2p-2s$, $2p-4s$, $2p-6d$, lines and found that substances of various colours were left behind.
Mg ⁺ .				*	Not recorded
Na.				*	Fowler and Strutt noticed that when sodium is heated a little above its melting point in Active Nitrogen the entire arc spectrum of Sodium is observed. When heated a little more strongly the vapour close to the metal becomes green, while it is surrounded on its outer side with bright yellow aureole. In the green region only the green line (Energy of excitation 4.22 volts) is observed while no yellow line is found and the principal series is strongly visible in the yellow aureole. Observations of Okubo and Hamada were identical. In a later investigation they observed that the difference in colour of the Sodium vapour in the central column and the outer aureole depends on the density difference between the vapours in the two places. It has been confirmed that when the dense vapour of Sodium comes in contact with Active Nitrogen the band spectrum of Sodium molecules appears and on further increasing the vapour density an excitation of band spectrum due to NaN results. Two bands are observed at 4530, and 4364A° U. They are probably due to NaN. Further work is required on the origin and structure of these bands.

K.	..	..	..	..	..	The result is the same as with Sodium. The outer diffused aureole is faint green and dense central core is pink. The nitrides of this metal resemble those of Sodium but it acts as a powerful poison of its activity, so it was difficult to give sufficient exposure on the plates.
Cs.	..	..	..	..	..	Principal series lines were stronger in purple aureole, while in the yellowish purplish core the lines of the subordinate series were more enhanced. The highest level observed is 8d.
Tl.	2494	..	..	..	..	Reddish yellow nitrides are formed. Besides the lines observed by Runck many other lines are observed. The highest level is 9d. Nearly the whole arc spectrum is excited. Fowler and Strutt used chlorides of the metal but observed no bands. Only arc lines were observed. Almost the whole arc spectrum is excited.
Ca.	..	..	..	..	..	The experiment was unsuccessful because even in the solid state the stream of Active Nitrogen produces nitrides of the metal.
Ca ⁺	The excitation potential of the spark resonance lines of the metal 3934K is 9.26 volts and therefore it would be interesting to find out whether these lines appear in the afterglow or not.
I ₂.	..	..	..	..	..	Iodine was found to be ionised (Constantinides, <i>loc. cit.</i>). Smyth finds the I. P. of I ₂ to be $9.4 \pm .1$ volts (P. R. 16, 50, 1920).

SPECTRA OF MOLECULES EXCITED IN ACTIVE NITROGEN

One of the most novel applications of Active Nitrogen is the development of band spectra of certain molecules placed in the afterglow. Broadly speaking two types of molecules may be distinguished from each other. In the case of some of the molecules the spectrum is developed without decomposition or chemical change. To the second class of molecules may belong those which undergo a chemical change in presence of Active Nitrogen and then the resulting compound may or may not be excited to emit its own spectrum. Suffice it to say, that the interaction of molecules with Active Nitrogen is not quite simple and on account of many side-reactions, the details of the mechanisms of which are obscure, the phenomenon does not allow one to make a proper interpretation of the observed spectra. It is however significant that in spite of all these difficulties of a clear interpretation the experimental results can be explained in most cases on the result of Okubo and Hamada¹³ who think that the total energy-content of the Nitrogen molecule in the activated state is 9.51 volts.

To the first class of compounds may belong NO, CO, I₂, Br₂, Cl₂ etc. which give their own spectra after being excited with Active Nitrogen. Knauss²⁷ found that when NO is allowed to come in contact with Active Nitrogen three band systems are generally observed which are called α , β and δ systems of NO. The three band systems α , β and δ are due to the transitions $A^2\Sigma \rightarrow X^2\Sigma$, $B^2\pi - X^2\Sigma$ and $C^2\Sigma - X^2\Sigma$ respectively. The highest vibrational quantum number for the uppermost state $C^2\Sigma$ is $v = 0$ and therefore the maximum excitation potential required for the appearance of these bands is 6.44 volts, which is far below 9.51 volts and therefore their origin can be easily explained with the hypothesis of total energy of 9.51 volts of the Active Nitrogen molecule.

In exactly the same way Knauss²⁷ found out the bands

which are excited by Active Nitrogen in carbon-monoxide. He found that the fourth positive bands of carbon-monoxide due to the transition $A^1\pi - X^1\Sigma$ are easily obtained in Active Nitrogen while the third positive bands which are usually very intense in the discharge tube do not appear at all in Active Nitrogen. This can as well be explained by the fact that the *b*-level of CO has an excitation potential of 9.01 volts. This shows that the fourth positive bands will be observed but not the third positive bands whose excitation potential is 10.4 volts.

A summary of all such results available at the present time together with proper references is given in Table 7.

Amongst the second group of molecules may be regarded a large number of molecules like O_2 , CCl_4 , $SiCl_4$, $TiCl_4$ and nearly all the compounds of carbon.

When Oxygen is put on the afterglowing gas the green auroral line is obtained as reported by Kaplan²⁸. The origin of the green auroral line can be easily explained from the following energy relations :—

$$\begin{aligned} O_2 &= O(^3P) + O(^1S) - 5.05 - 4.17 \\ &= O(^3P) + O(^1S) - 9.22 \end{aligned}$$

i.e. 9.22 volts are necessary to dissociate an $O\ ^3P$ (normal) and $O\ ^1S$ state, and we easily see that the energy imparted by Active Nitrogen is sufficient for this purpose. The dissociated atoms will take amongst themselves the balance of energy viz. .32 volts.

It is stated that Active Nitrogen reacting with Oxygen gives us NO molecules excited so as to be capable of giving β and γ bands. This was the observation of Fowler and Strutt and a detailed work was subsequently undertaken by Johnson and Jenkins.

The energy of excitation can be easily obtained. It is known that the highest vibrational level of the upper state of the β - bands is 4 and corresponds to 6.08 volts. Hence the energy of excitation would be quite sufficient for the excitation

Table 7. Spectra of Molecules excited in Active Nitrogen

Molecule	Molecular Spectrum in the Afterglow				Other Descriptions		
	Band System	Highest vibrational level	Excitation Potential. e. V.	Heat of Dissociation	Author	Reference	
H ₂	—	III. I	4.4	Diecke and Hopfield <i>Zeits. f. Phys.</i> 49, 299, 1926. <i>Phys. Rev.</i> 30, 400, 1927.	Knauss Re. 32, 417, 1928.	Pby. Rev. 30, 95, 1927. ,,	Constan- tinides Proc. Roy. Soc. Lond. 85, 219, 1911. Willey 669, 1927.

O_2	5.89		Kaplan <i>Phys. Rev.</i> 33, 155, 1929.	Krauss <i>Phys. Rev.</i> 32, 417, 1928.	
			The formula according to Jenkins, Barton and Mulliken for the origin of double-headed bands is $v = 41486.12 + 1029.429v' - 7.460v'^2 + 0.1017v'^3 - 1892.119v'' + 14.4243v''' - 0.4021v'''' + 0.001351v'''''$	Jenkins, Barton & Mulliken. <i>Phil. Mag.</i> 2, 621, 1926	Fowler & Strutt obtained β -bands with maximum value of $v' = 3$. Johnson & Jenkins obtained a few more bands in the less refrangible part of the afterglow spectrum.
	6.08	4	Johnson & Jenkins <i>Phil. Mag.</i> 2, 621, 1926		Fowler & Strutt <i>Proc. Roy. Soc.</i> 85, 377, 1911. <i>Phil. Mag.</i> 2, 621, 1926.
			β -bands of No. $B^2\pi-X^2\pi$.		Strutt & Fowler <i>Phil. Mag.</i> 2, 621, 1926.
		1	5.7		The null line formula for the γ -bands is given as follows:—
			γ -bands of No. $A^2\pi-X^2\pi$.		

Other Descriptions

Molecule	Molecular Spectrum in the Afterglow				Author	Reference
	Band System	Highest vibrational level	Excitation Potential. c. V.	Heat of Dissociation		
NO	δ bands.	O	6.44		$v = \frac{44199}{44079} + (2358v' - 16.3v'^2)$ $- \left(\frac{1892.12}{1891.98} v'' - \frac{14.424}{14.454} v'''^2 \right)$	Knauss <i>Phys. Rev.</i> 32, 421, 1928.
CO	4th positive	6	9.01		Third positive group of CO which is quite strong in emission fails to appear in the spectrum of the afterglow when CO is introduced in the activated gas. The distribution of the intensity of the bands of the 4th positive group is quite different from the normal discharge. The highest	

vibrational level is 6 and the formula for the band heads is as follows:

$$\nu = 64737 + (1497.28v' - 17.24v'^2) - (2149.74v'') - 12.703v''^2$$

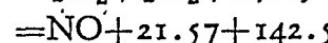
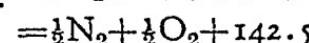
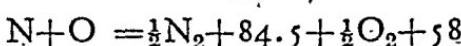
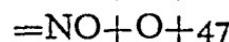
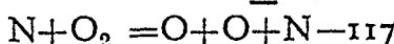
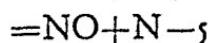
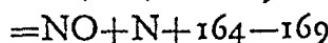
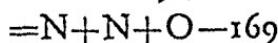
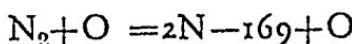
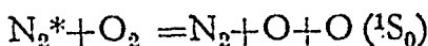
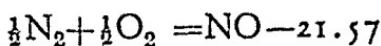
Knauss says that the absence of the third positive group of CO may be ascribed to high excitation potential of the C-level which is about 10.35 volts above the ground state.

Phy. *Rev.*
28, 1957,
1926.

of the observed bands. Now we have to account how excited NO is formed from oxygen. The energy relations which define the interaction between N_2 and O_2 are as follows :—

$$N_2 = 2N - 169$$

$$O_2 = 2O - 117$$



NEWER NITROGEN GLOWS

In a number of papers Kaplan²⁹ has described what he calls the second and third afterglow of Nitrogen. A discharge is passed through a Nitrogen tube at a definite pressure and the spectrum is obtained through a rotating sector. The arrangement is such that the plate is exposed only when the discharge is cut off. The second afterglow is only produced when the surface is specially treated (for details see *Pub. Astro. Soc. Paci.*, 47, 257, 1935) and the discharge is condensed though strong. He finds that the spectrum of the afterglow consists of Negative Nitrogen bands of N_2^+ , second positive bands, first positive bands with higher vibrational quantum numbers as well as Vegard Kaplan bands. The spectrum resembles that of the aurora. The third afterglow is so weak that there is scarcely

any glow in the tube. The spectrum of the afterglow shows no negative bands but only the first and second positive bands. It is very much like the night-sky spectrum.

It appears, however, that these afterglow spectra can be very simply explained. The effect of discharge through a gas is to ionise it or to excite the molecules to higher levels and split them into atoms, normal excited or ionised. When the discharge is cut off the excited states which have a short life at once disappear and if the exposure is made 10^{-8} sec. after the discharge is stopped the lines arising from the excited atoms or molecular levels with normal life would not appear at all. Hence in the interrupted discharge we get such lines or bands which arise from levels having comparatively long life and this is true of Kaplan's second afterglow bands. In the third afterglow the discharge is so weak that the Nitrogen atom is not ionised at all.

The method suggests a very promising way of getting the forbidden lines of the atoms.

To complete this account of Active Nitrogen a brief survey of the theories of the phenomenon is necessary. We have already given such a description and will refer the reader to *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci. India*, Vol. 6, 1936.

In conclusion, I feel it a great pleasure to offer my most cordial thanks to Prof. M. N. Saha and Prof. S. R. Bhargava for help and guidance in the preparation of this paper.

REFERENCES

1. Warburg, E. *Arch. de Gen.*, (3) 12, 504, 1884.
2. Lewis, E. P. *Ann. d. Phys.*, 2, 466, 1900.
3. Strutt, R. J. *Phys. Zeits.*, 5, 546, 1904.
- Fowler, A., & Strutt, R. J. *Astrophys. Jour.*, 20, 49, 1904.
- Strutt, R. J. *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 85, 219, 1911.
- " " " 85, 377, 1911.
- " " " 86, 59, 1911.

- Strutt, R. J., & Fowler, A. *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 86, 105, 1911.
 Strutt, R. J. " " " 88, 110, 1912.
 Strutt, R. J. " " " 92, 438, 1916.
 Strutt, R. J. " " " 93, 256, 1917.
 4. Saha, M. N., & Sur, N. K. *Phil. Mag.*, 48, 421, 1924.
 5. Johnson, R. C., & Jenkins, H. G. *Phil. Mag.*, 2, 621, 1926.
 6. Kichlu, P. K., & Acharya, D. P. *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 103, 168, 1929.
 7. Rayleigh, Lord. *Proc. Roy. Soc.*, 151, 572, 1935.
 8. Tiede. *Ber. d. D. Phys., Ges.*, 46, 4065, 1913.
 9. Cario, G. *Zeits. f. Phys.*, 89, 523, 1934.
 10. Kneser, H. O. *Ergebn. d. Naturw.*, 8, 229, 1929.
 11. McLennan, J. C. & Rudy, R. & Anderson, J. M. *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada.*, 22, 303, 1928.
 12. Cavalloni, F. *Zeits. f. Phys.*, 90, 342, 1934.
 13. Okubo, J., & Hamada, H. *Phil. Mag.*, 5, 372, 1928.
 14. Saha, M. N., & Mathur, L. S. *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.*, 6, 120, 1936.
 15. Werede, E. *Zeits. f. Phys.*, 54, 53, 1929.
 16. Broadway, L. C., & Jackson, L. F. *Proc. Roy. Soc., A*, 127, 678, 1930.
 17. Kichlu, P. K., & Acharya. *Ind. Asso. f. Cult. Sci.*, 9, 287, 1926.
 18. Herzberg, G. *Zeits. f. Phys.*, 49, 512, 1928.
 19. Bay, Z., & Stiener, W. *Zeits. f. Phys. Chem.*, B, 3, 149, 1929.
 20. Willey, E. J. B. *Jour. Chem. Soc.*, 1620, 1928.
 21. Angerer, E. U. *Phys. Zeits.*, 22, 97, 1921.
 22. Rudy, R. *Phy. Rev.*, 27, 110, 1926.
 23. Kneser, H. O. *Ann. d. Phys.*, 87, 717, 1928.
 24. König, A. *Zeits. f. Elec. Chem.*, 32, 537, 1926.
 25. Willey, E. J. B. *Jour. Chem. Soc.*, 1620, 1928.
 26. Ruark, A. E., & Foote, P. D., Rudnick, P., & Chenault, R. L. *Jour. Opt. Soc. Amer.*, 14, 17, 1927.
 27. Knauss. *Phy. Rev.*, 32, 417, 1928.
 28. Kaplan, J. *Phy. Rev.*, 33, 154, 1929.
 29. Kaplan, J. *Phy. Rev.*, 45, 671, 675, 1934.
 Trans. Amer. Geophys. Union, 162, 1934.
 Pub. Astro. Soc. Paci., 47, 257, 1935.

SECTION III
BOTANY

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CERTAIN STRAINS OF MACROSPORIUM GROWN ON SYNTHETIC AND FRESH FRUIT-JUICE MEDIA

By (Miss) L. ROY, M.Sc., L.T.
Botanical Laboratory, University of Allahabad

INTRODUCTION

The influence of different media on the growth of fungi has been investigated by several workers, but perhaps the only works with media prepared from the juices of fruits grown in India are those of Mitra (1) and Lacy (2) from this laboratory. There is plenty of scope for research in this direction and I have investigated the growth of seven local forms of *Macrosporium* on media prepared from fresh fruit juices.

The following is a list of plants on which *Macrosporium* (including the *Alternaria* growing on *Cleome viscosa*) was found.

1. *Ricinus communis*—on dead twigs.
2. *Ipomoea* sp.—on dead twigs.
3. Grass—on dead leaves.
4. *Albizia lebbek*—on dried pods.
5. *Borassus flabellifer* (Palmyra Palm)—on dead leaves.
6. Carnation (*Dianthus caryophyllus*)—on dead branches and flowers.
7. Sun-flower (*Helianthus annus*)—on dead leaves.
8. *Gladiolus* sp.—on dead tips of leaves.
9. Palm—on dead tips of leaves.
10. Chrysanthemum—on dead leaves.
11. Rose—on dead flowers.
12. *Saccharum officinarum* (thick variety)—on dead leaves.
13. Keora.

14. *Cassia occidentalis*—on pods.
15. *Cleome Viscosa*—on dead plants & pods.
16. *Poinsettia pulcherrima*—on dead leaves.
17. *Zinnia* sp.—on dead branches and leaves.
18. *Hibiscus mutabilis*—on dead leaves.
19. Rose—on dead leaves.
20. Marigold (*Tagetes erecta*)—on dead flowers.
21. Cauliflower (*Brassica oleracea*)—on leaves.
22. *Ficus religiosa*—on dead leaves.
23. *Chenopodium album*—on green leaves.

The search for *Macrosporium* was started from the beginning of August, 1931; but unfortunately there was very little rain in Allahabad that year in the rainy season thus preventing a luxuriant growth of this and other fungi.

1. *Macrosporium* species growing on plants 1-12 were found from the beginning of August '31 to the middle of October '31.

2. *Macrosporium* growing on plants 13-23 was found from the middle of October '31 to the middle of February '32.

In the second period there was more luxuriant growth of *Macrosporium* than in the first one.

The following forms were chosen for growing on the different media and symbols were given to each as shown below :—

<i>Macrosporium</i>				Symbol used
on Carnation	..	..	..	Cr
on Cauliflower	..	..	..	Cl
on <i>Cassia occidentalis</i>	..	..	..	C
on Keora	..	..	..	K
on Rose	..	..	..	R
on <i>Hibiscus mutabilis</i>	..	..	..	S
on <i>Cleome viscosa</i>	..	..	..	X

Single spore cultures of all these were prepared.

It will be interesting to note at the outset the peculiar behaviour of the species of *Macrosporium* growing on *Albizia Lebbeck*. It did not bear the usual muriform conidia at all on Brown's Synthetic Starch, but showed chlamydospores. It was then allowed to grow on Potato glucose medium where it spored but very sparingly. Here too chlamydospores were found growing copiously.

MEDIA

The growth of the seven strains was studied on the following media. The formulæ and pH values as determined colorimetrically are given below.

<i>Media</i>	<i>Formula for 1 litre</i>		<i>pH</i>
I. Brown's Synthetic Starch Media ..		as usual	7.2
II. Hill Apple decoction Agar	Apple 200 gms.	Agar 18 gms.	4.5
III. Kashmir Apple decoction Agar ..	„ 50 „	„ 20 „	4.5
IV. Green Guava decoction Agar ..	Guava 200 „	„ 18 „	4.2
V. Ripe Guava decoction Agar ..	„ 200 „	„ 18 „	3.0
VI. Papaya decoction Agar	Papaya 200 „	„ 18 „	3.4
VII. Banana decoction Agar	Banana 200 „	„ 10 „	4.2
VIII. Cod-liver Oil Malt Extract Agar ..	Malt 2%	„ 1.8 %	

In the preparation of the fruit juice media the skin was peeled off and the seed and hard portions were rejected in every case. The pulp alone was only used and decoction was prepared by heating the pulp slowly with water. The decoction prepared from Banana was in a colloidal state and not a clear liquid as obtained with other fruits. This colloidal decoction was used for making the medium.

GROWTH RATE

The measurement of the colonies was in every case started after 48 hours, giving them time to get accustomed to their environmental conditions. The readings were taken at the same time each day starting with the 3rd day, till the time when the colonies filled the plates.

On Brown's Starch all the strains except perhaps Cr and K show a marked alternate rise and fall in their growth rate, so that there is an absence of an uniform rate of growth. These two features are present in most of the other media also. The strains Cr and K behave almost in the same manner, except that the strain Cr fills the plate a day earlier than K. The strains Cr K and S differ from the others in being staling forms, at least on this medium, because the growth rates of these strains on this medium fall continuously. Even these however, do not fail to fill the plate. If larger plates were used these might have shown a cessation in their rate of growth. On the whole the maximum rise in the rates growth of all the strains was in the beginning i.e. either on the 5th or 6th day. On the basis of their average rates of growth the strains can be arranged in the following manner :—(Cr, S), K, (C, X), Cl.

On Hill Apple decoction agar the strain K is more or less a staling form. As on Brown's Starch, here also it does not fail to fill the plate. The strain Cr. which was staling on Brown's Starch is non-staling on this medium. C and Cl also are stalers on this medium. According to the average rate of growth the strains can be arranged in the following manner :—Cr, Cl, S, (C, K, X).

The strain C on Kashmir Apple decoction agar show the maximum rate of growth on the 6th day. It differs from the other strains in that it begins with a fall, whereas all the others begin with a rise. There are no staling forms on this medium. According to the average daily radial advance

of colonies the strains are arranged in the following manner:—
(Cr, X), S, (C, K), Cl.

A new strain R, which had not been discovered in time to include it in the previous experiments, was introduced on Green Guava decoction agar where it took the longest time to fill up the plate. On the whole the maximum increase in the rate of growth is on the 10th day, for all the strains excepting C. The strain C differs from the others also in being perhaps a staler. A peculiarity noticed here is that while on the previously used media only one or two of the strains went through a period of uniform growth for 2 or 3 days, on this medium almost all the strains except Cl show this feature. According to the average rate of growth the strains are arranged in the following manner:—S, C, K, Cr, (Cl, X), R.

Except for the strains S and X, which begin with a fall the other strains show a rise in growth rate when grown on Ripe Guava decoction agar. Only the strains Cl, C, K, and S show a period of uniform growth. The strain Cr. is the only apparently staling form on this medium. The strain R. is quite striking on this medium showing as it does a very steep rise and an equally steep fall, which are much in excess of the rise and fall shown by other strains in their daily rate of growth. The rise in R. is on the 7th-8th day and fall on the 9th day. R. also takes a longer time than the other strains to fill up the plate. The strains can be arranged according to the average rate of growth in the following manner:—K, C, X, Cr, Cl, S, R.

On Banana decoction agar all the strains except K begin with a fall in their rate of growth, K alone begins with a rise. Cl. is here perhaps the only definitely staling form. It may be recalled that Cl. staled also on Hill Apple decoction agar. The forms on their average rates of growth are arranged as follows:—C, Cr, X, K, S, Cl and R.

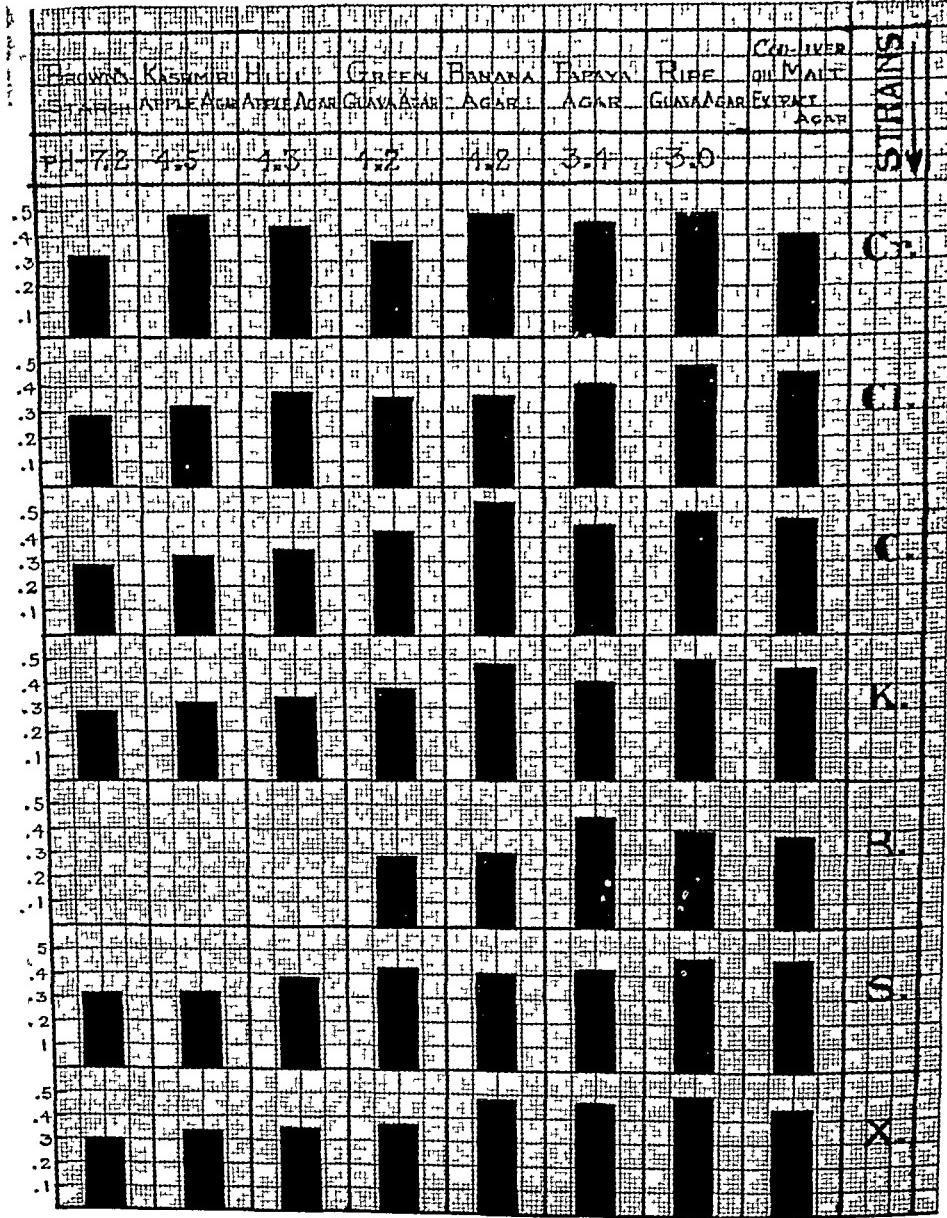
Some of the strains, such as Cr, K and S on Papaya

decoction agar begin with a fall while others begin with a rise in their rate of growth. The alternate rise and fall during growth are somewhat more equal on this media for most of the strains, i.e. the falls are about as steep as the corresponding rises. The strain K behaves differently from the others. Its rate of growth begins with a fall on the 5th day, rises on the 6th day, is uniform from the 6th to the 9th day and then falls till the 11th day. Apparently this strain stale on the medium. The strains are arranged according to the average rate as follows :—Cr, R, C, S, X and (Cl, K).

It is interesting to note, that on Cod-liver Oil Malt Extract medium which is quite different in composition to the natural fruit juice media used, the behaviour of the strains is also conspicuously different. Thus excepting one strain viz. S, all the others seem to stale on this medium. C and Cl, show only one rise and then after 4 days of uniform growth fall continuously in their rate of growth, and if larger plates were used, might have shown a cessation of growth after some days. Cr. behaves very much like C and Cl. The strains R and K show more than one rise, but on the whole their rate of growth shows a greater tendency to fall. This medium which is not a set with the fruit juice media provides an interesting contrast to the fruit juice media.

From a comparison of what has been said before it appears that strains of *Macrosporium* show an absence of a uniform rate of growth, and that there is alternate rise and fall in their rate of growth in all the fruit juice media used.

A chart of the strain and media on which they stale are given below :—



GRAPH I

Showing the average rate of radial advance in cms. of the different strains of *macrosporium* on the various media whose pH values are given

<i>Strains</i>	<i>Media</i>
Cr—Brown's Starch,	Ripe Guava,
Cl—Hill Apple,	Banana,
C—Hill Apple,	Green Guava,
K—Brown's Starch,	Hill Apple, Papaya,
R—Malt.	Malt.
S—Brown's Starch.	
X—Malt.	

It will be seen that K. is a staling form on the largest number of media than the other strains.

Graph 1 summarises the average rate of radial advance (in the sense of Horne and Mitter (5)) of the different strains on the different media whose pH values are given. Other workers in this field have found that the degree of acidity or alkalinity of the media influence the rate of growth, markedly, but it will be observed here that the seven strains of *Macrosporium* do not seem to be influenced in the same manner in their rate of growth. It is interesting to note that the almost neutral or slightly alkaline Brown's Starch synthetic medium has the smallest rate of growth for every strain. The next smallest growth rate is observed on Kashmir Apple agar for the strains Cl, C, K, S and X—this medium is less acid than the other media. The strains Cl, K, S and X have the maximum rate of growth on Ripe Guava agar—which is the most acid medium. But on the whole the average rate of growth of these strains of *Macrosporium* cannot be arranged according to the relative pH values of the different media. With *Fusaria* Boyle (7) found that the pH limits for the growth of the fungus depend on the medium.

To determine the respective value of the media, the growth rate of the strain is not the only criterion. The other characteristics according to Stevens & Hall (4) should also be considered before coming to any conclusion as regards the

suitability of any medium for cultural work. These characteristics are discussed in the next section of the present paper.

IV. Macroscopic and microscopic observations

Macroscopic and microscopic observations were made in every case in 10-12 days old cultures.

All colours were identified by comparison with Ridgways
(3) "Colour standards and nomenclatures."

The range of the size of spores given in microns (μ) was determined by picking out and measuring a number of the largest and the smallest spores. Zones are enumerated from centre outwards.

Brown's Synthetic Starch medium

Characters	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	S	X
Colour of Substratum	..	..	1. Clove brown 2. Buff pink 3. Hair brown 4. Light buff pink	Flesh colour with light Ochaceous buff border	1. Dark purplish grey 2. Flesh colour 3. Neutral grey 4. Cartridge Buff	1. Deep clove brown 2. Flesh colour 3. Mummy brown 4. Buff pink	1. Clove brown 2. Brownish drab 3. Flesh colour	1. Brownish drab colour 2. Flesh colour
Colour of mycelium	..	..	1. Dusky olive 2. Salmon buff 3. Olive green 4. White	1. White 2. Ivy green 3. Pale flesh colour 4. White	1. Ivy green 2. Greenish olive 3. Olive citrine 4. White	1. Ivy green colour 2. Flesh colour 3. White	1. Pinkish Buff 2. White 3. Olive citrine 4. Olive green 5. White	1. White colour 2. Dusky flesh colour 3. Pale smoky green 4. Olive green 5. White
Zonation	..	..	..	4. Zones Well developed and thick	4. Zones Felt thinner than Cl	4. Zones Thick felt as in Cl	5. Zones Well developed and thick	7. Zones Thick felt
Sporulation	..	..	..	Very good 18.9—14 X	Poor 20.2—75.6 X	Very good 18.9—62.1 X	Very good 24.3—91.5 X	Good 27.0—39.9 X
Size of spores with stalk	..	..	..	8.1—13.5	8.1—17.5	8.1—13.5	8.1—16.2	2.1—14.8

The above chart shows that the colouration of the substratum and mycelium differ with the different zonation rings produced by all the strains. The colour of the substratum and mycelium deepens with age and after about three weeks it becomes almost black. This happens in all the other media also.

On the whole the development of aerial mycelium and sporulation both seem to be fairly good on this medium for all the strains except C where sporulation is poor.

The spores were of moderately big size on this medium. The length of the stalk was also considerable.

The number of transverse septa was variable but on the whole it was 1-8. Longitudinal septa, vertical as well as oblique, were also present, two being the maximum number in all of these except Cr., which never showed more than one, vertical septa were of more common occurrence than the oblique (Figs. I-VI).

The shape of the spores for all the strains was in this medium as well as in others, muriform and irregular. The colour of the spores was darker or lighter shades of olive in every strain except S where it was honey yellow. The colour varied also from spore to spore in the same culture and this depended on the age of the spore, the older spores being of a darker shade. This was true for the spores on all the other media also.

The wall was generally smooth but in spores with darker shades which were probably older spores, the wall was rough and warty. The contents of these darker warty spores were more granular. These facts about the spore wall and contents hold good for the walls and contents of spores in the other media also.

Hill Apple decoction Agar

Characters ..	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	S	X
Colour of Tawny substratum olive ..	..	Tawny olive	Pinkish cinnamon	Pale flesh	Cinnamon buff	Pale buff pink	Flesh olive	
Colour of mycelium	..	1. Elm green 2. Pale buff pink 3. Greyish white 4. White	1. White 2. Olive green 3. Pale flesh colour 4. White	1. Ivy green 2. Greenish white 3. White	1. White 2. Dusky olive green 3. Greyish white 4. White	1. White 2. Ivy green 3. Olive green 4. Tea green 5. White	1. White 2. Ivy green 3. Pale pink 4. White	
Zonation ..	..	..	4 Zones	4 Zones	3 Zones	4 Zones	5 Zones	4 Zones
Aerial mycelium ..	..	Felt with loose mycelium	Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	
Sporulation ..	..	..	Very poor	Poor	Very good	Very poor	Poor	
Size of spores with stalk ..	20.2—45.9 X 8.1—14.5	22.9—41.8 X 6.7—14.8	20.2—42.7 X 6.7—12.1	21.6—66.1 X 9.4—17.5	18.9—43.2 X 8.1—13.5	18.9—49.9 X 8.1—13.5		

The substratum for every strain is of uniform colour while the mycelium has different colours at the different zones.

Zonation is present in all the strains. The development of the aërial mycelium and sporulation is poor on this medium for all the strains except K where it is good.

It is evident from a comparison of the results on this medium with those on Brown's Starch medium that there is a change in the range of the size of the spores. The spores of the strains C and K increase both in length and width. A reverse condition is observed in Cl where the spores decrease in length and width. Of the remaining three strains Cr, S and X, the last two i.e., S and X show an increase in the length and a decrease in the width of their spores, while in Cr, the spores decrease in length and increase in width. A change in the length of the stalk is observed on this medium in all the strains except Cr where it remains the same as Brown's Starch medium. The number of Septa is 1-8.

Characters ..	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	S	X
Colour of substratum ..	Danube green	Mellowish olive	Dark greenish olive	Dark greenish olive	Dark green	Jade green	Ivy green	
Colour of mycelium ..	Cedar green	Mellowish olive	Dark greenish olive	Dark greenish olive	Dark green	Ivy green 2. Light olive green with aster like streaks of Ivy green	Ivy green	
Zonation ..	..	..	8 Zones	3 Zones	8 Zones	3 Zones	7 Zones	
Aërial mycelium loose felt	Same	Same	Very good	Poor	Poor	Poor	Very good	
Sporulation ..	..	Poor	Very good	17.5—57.3	16.2—55.3	16.2—44.5	16.2—44.5	
Size of spores with stalk ..	16.2—48.6 5.4—12.1	14.8—63.4 8.1—14.8	17.5—X	X	8.1—17.5	6.7—17.5	8.1—17.5	X 6.7—17.5

The substratum and mycelium in nearly all the strains are of one colour except in S where the mycelium has two colours.

Zonation is present in all the strains except in Cr.

The development of aerial mycelium is very poor on this medium. Sporulation is very good in the strains Cl, K, and X, but is poor in Cr, K, and S.

The change in the range of the size of the spores is observed by a comparison with the results observed in Brown's Starch medium. The spores of the strains Cr, K, S and X increase in length and decrease in width, while those of the strain Cl decrease in length and increase in width. Spores of the strain C increase in length but there is no change in the range of the width.

The length of the stalk for all the strains also changes on this medium as compared with the length on Hill Apple decoction.

The number of Septa is 1-8.

Green Guava decoction agar

Character	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	R	S	X
Colour of substratum ..	Light Och-	raceous	Light Och-	Light buff	Pale Och-	Pale Och-			
	salmon		buff	buff	raceous	raceous			
Colour of mycelium ..	1. White		Dusky		Dark	Ivy green	Olive Green		
	2. Elm	green	olive		greenish				
			green		olive				
				1. Olive-		r. Olive-			
				ceous		ceous			
				black		black			
				2. Olive		z. Elm			
				green		green			
Zonation ..	..	..	Not distinct		6 Zones	nil		4 Zones	
			- probably						
Aerial mycelium ..			Centrif	Thin	felt	Same	Thick felt		
			w o o l l y						
			thick						
			felt						
			of hy-						
			phac						
Sporulation ..	..	..	Very good	Same	Same	Same	Good	Very good	
Spores with stalk ..	..	17.5—56.7	14.8—52.1	14.8—52.6	17.5—55.3	24.3—101.5	18.9—8.0	Very good	14.8—56.3
		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
	8.1—13.5	6.7—14.2	6.7—17.5	6.7—14.2	6.7—14.2	12.1—27	8.1—12.1	6.7—14.8	8.1—12.1

A new strain R was introduced on this medium.

The colour of the substratum and the mycelium does not differ at the different zonation rings. In the strains Cr, C and R there are two colour zones for the mycelium.

The zonation was distinct in the strains Cl, C, K, and X, but not so in Cr. There was no zonation in R and S.

The development of aerial mycelium is poor in the strains Cl, C, K, S and X, but it is good in Cr and R.

Sporulation, on the whole is quite good for every strain.

The spore of the strain R has a conspicuously big stalk and the width of the spore is also quite great.

The spores of the remaining strains as compared with their spores on Brown's Starch medium have the following result. The spores of the strains Cl, C, K, and X increase in length as well as width, the spores of S increase in length but decrease in width and the spores of Cr. increase in the length and show no change in width.

The strains R and S have chlamydospores on this medium a feature which is absent in the other strains. It is interesting to note, that, while in the strain S only some of the hyphae are transformed to chlamydospores, in the strain R sometimes the stalks and more commonly the conidiophores are transformed to chlamydospores.

Saltations occur in R and X. Many sectors are seen in R, only one in X. For purposes of comparison cultures from the parent colony and the sectors were simultaneously prepared in every case where saltations occurred. In every case the parent colony showed much thicker growth than the sector. The colour of the substratum of the sector was different to the substrated colour of the parent.

COLOUR OF SUBSTRATUM

Parent	Sector
R—Pale ochraceous buff	Light cinnamon brown
X—Light ochraceous buff	Light ochraceous salmon

CERTAIN STRAINS OF MACROSPORIUM

69

Ripe Guna decoction agar

Characters	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	R	S	X
Colour of substratum ..	1. L e a f green 2. Light cress green border	Pois green	1. Dusky olive green 2. Deep grape green	Deep green	1. Dusky olive green 2. Deep grape green	Grape green	Dull Cikine		
Colour of mycelium ..	S a m e as substra-tum	Ivy green	1. D u l l blackish green 2. J a d e green	Dark green	Storm grey	Olive green	Yew green		
Zonation	..	..	nil	8 Zones	7 Zones	nil	not distinct	7 Zones	
Aërial mycelium	..	Thick felt	Thin felt	Thin felt	Thin felt	Thick felt	a film	Thick felt	
Sporulation	..	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	
Size of spores with stalk	18.9—49.9 8.7—16.2	18.9—54.0 8.1—14.8	20.2—54.0 X	20.2—62.1 X	25.6—104.5 6.7—14.8	16.2—49.9 X	14.8—64.8 6.7—29.7	14.8—64.8 X	6.7—14.8

The colour of the substratum and mycelium does not vary with the zonation rings, i.e. it is the same at the zones as in the rest of the plate.

Zonation is present in Cl, C, K, and X and absent in Cr and R.

The development of aerial mycelium is very good in Cr, R and X and poor in Cl, C, and K. In S, the mycelium is reduced to a film.

Sporulation is very good in the strains Cl, C, K, S and X; fairly good in R, but very poor in Cr.

The change in the size range of the spores is observed by comparison with the results of spore size on Br.'s St. medium. The spores of the strains Cr, C, K, X, and S, increase in length and width; while that of Cl decrease in length and width. The change in the size of the spores of the strain R is observed by comparing it with the spore size on Green Guava medium, and consists in the spores decreasing in width and increasing in length.

Banana decoration agar

Characters	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	R	S	X
Colour of substratum ..			Saccardos slate	1. Olivaceous black 2. Olive brown 3. Cinnamom o n buff	1. Sepia 2. Clove brown	1. Chaetura drab	Saccardo's slate	Chaetura drab	Chaetura drab
Colour of mycelium ..			White	1. Olivaceous black 2. Dusky olive green	1. Olivaceous black 2. Olivaceous black	1. Olivaceous black 2. Dark greyish olive	1. Russian green 2. Pista chio green	1. White 2. Dark greyish olive	1. Olivaceous black 2. Olivaceous black
Zonation ..	..	..	grey with whitish patches here and there	3 indistinct zones nil	5 distinct zones	very indistinct probably 7 zones	As in C	nil	Indistinct probably 3
Aërial mycelium ..			Very thick felt	Thick felt	Thick felt thinner than Cl.	Thick	felt	Thick felt thicker in the centre	As in C or K.
Sporulation ..			Size of spore with stalk	Poor 16.2—41.8 X 6.7—13.5	Very good 18.9—9.4 X 6.7—14.8	Very good 14.8—52.6 X 6.7—14.8	Good 17.5—54.0 X 8.1—13.5	Good 27.0—56.7 X 12.1—31.0	Very good 16.2—39.1 X 6.7—10.8

The colour of the substratum and mycelium does not change at the zonation rings.

Zonation is present in the strains Cl, C, K, S and X and is absent in Cr and R. The rings are distinct only in the strain C and indistinct in the others.

The development of aerial mycelium is on the whole good on this medium excepting for the strain S where the mycelium is thin.

Sporulation is also good on the whole except for Cr.

The change in size-range of the spores is observed by comparing with the results on Brown's Starch medium. The spores of the strains Cl, C and S increase in length and decrease in width while the spores of the strains K and X increase in length but remain unaltered in range of width. The spores of Cr. increase both in length and width. Spores of the strain R as compared with the previous medium that is Ripe Guava agar increase in length and breadth.

There is change in the length of the stalk also.

The strain R is the only one giving off saltants on this medium.

Papaya decoction agar

Characters	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	R	S	X
Colour of substratum ..	Defl	Blue	Dark Greyish olive	Deep Greyish olive	Deep Greyish olive	Light drab	r. Chaeture drab z. Greyish olive	Greyish olive	
Colour of mycelium ..	Deep Greyish olive	Olivaceous black	Olivaceous black	Olivaceous black	r. Olivaceous black z. Dark Greyish olive	r. Olivaceous black z. Light drab	r. Olivaceous black z. Dark Greyish olive	r. Olivaceous black z. Dark Greyish olive	1. Olivaceous black 2. Dark Greyish olive
Zonation ..	..	..	nil	6 Zones	7 Zones	5 Zones	8 Zones	7 Zones	5 Zones
Aërial mycelium ..	..	Thick felt	Thin felt	Thin felt	Thin felt	Thin felt	Thick felt more than Cr	Thin felt	Thin felt
Sporulation ..	..	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good
Size of spore with stalk	13.5—64.8 5.4—14.8	14.8—56.7 5.4—14.8	14.8—60.7 8.1—13.5	17.5—63.4 X	22.9—73.6 X	17.5—55.3 X	17.5—52.6 6.7—13.5	17.5—52.6 6.7—14.8	17.5—52.6 6.7—14.8

The colour of the substratum and the mycelium does not change at the zones.

Zonation is only distinct in the strain R. In the other strains it is indistinct, and in Cr it is altogether absent.

Development of aerial mycelium is on the whole very poor—except for the strains Cr and R where it is quite good.

Sporulation is on the whole very good except for the strain R where it is very poor.

There is a change in the range of the size of the spores as compared with the results observed on Brown's Starch medium. Spores of the strains Cr and X increase both in length and width. Spores of Cl, C and S increase in length, but decrease in width, while spores of K increase in length alone. Spores of the strain R on this medium are shorter and broader than those on Banana agar.

Cod-liver oil malt extract—agar

Characters	..	..	Cr	Cl	C	K	R	S	X
Colour of substratum ..	Old gold zonation	1. Citrine drab	1. Sepia	1. Olive green	Empire green	1. Dusky green	1. Dresden brown	1. Dresden brown	
		2. Warm buff	2. Light old gold	2. Light old gold	2. Light old gold	2. Warm buff	2. Old gold	2. Old gold	
Colour of mycelium ..	1. Olivaceous black	1. Chalcocolla black	1. Olivaceous black	1. Olivaceous black	White	1. Olivaceous black	1. Olivaceous black	1. Olivaceous black	
	2. Pale grey	2. White	2. Dark greenish olive	2. Dark greenish olive		2. Dark greenish olive	2. Dark greenish olive	2. Olivaceous black	
Zonation ..	..	5 Zones	6 Zones	7 Zones	6 Zones	nil	6 Zones	5 Zones	
Aërial mycelium ..		Thick felt	Thick white felt	Thick felt	Thick felt	Thick white felt thicker than Cl	Thick at the centre, thin at the edge	Very thick felt	
Sporulation ..	..	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good
Size of the spore with stalk	16.2—51.3 5.4—13.5	18.9—48.6 8.1—14.8	17.5—43.2 6.7—13.5	17.5—51.3 8.1—14.8	17.5—47.5 6.7—13.5	17.6—53.6 6.7—17.5	17.6—53.6 6.7—17.5	14.8—56.7 8.1—14.8	

No change in the colour of the substratum or mycelium is observed at any of the zonation rings.

Zonation is present in all the strains except R.

The development of aerial mycelium and sporulation are both very good on this medium except for R where sporulation is very poor. It is interesting to note that in the sector of R the sporulation is better than in the parent colony.

The size-range of the spores is observed to have changed by comparison with the results obtained on Brown's Starch medium. Spores of Cr, K and S increase in length as well as width; those of Cl decrease in length and breadth; while spores of the strain C increase in length and decrease in width. Spores of X also increase in length but do not change in the range of their width. The strain R does not alter the range of its spore size on this medium as compared with Papaya agar.

Chlamydospores were present only in the sector of the strain R and not in the parent colony. The hyphae were converted to chlamydospores, and not the conidiophores, nor the stalk.

V. Comparison of the different media & conclusion Colour production.

All the charts given in Chapter IV show that the intensity of colour of the seven strains differs in the strains, as well as with the medium. It is not possible to say which is the basic colour for the strains, though, on the whole the colour Olive might be taken as such. The number of colour zones is greatest on Brown's Starch and Hill Apple agar for all the strains.

All the cultures become almost black in about three weeks.

It can be concluded that the media play a part in the production of the various shades of colour.

Development of aerial mycelium

Medium	Aërial mycelium
1. Malt agar	Luxuriant in all the strains.
2. Banana, Brown's Starch	Very good in all the strains.
3. Hill apple } Kashmir apple }	Good in all the strains.
4. Papaya	Poor but luxuriant in R.
Green guava	Poor but luxuriant in Cr & R.
Ripe guava	Poor but luxuriant in R. Good in Cr and X.

Zonation.

Zonate colonies are produced in all the media by more than one strain. Zonation varied in the same strain on different media. Working with *Fusarium* Brown (6) found that production of zones was a function of particular strains.

Media with their strains which produced zonations on them are given below :—

Media	Strains
Brown's Starch ..	Cr, Cl, C, K, S, X
Hill apple agar ..	Cr, Cl, C, K, S, X
Kashmir apple agar ..	Cl, C, K, S, X
Green guava agar ..	Cl, C, K, X
Ripe guava agar ..	Cl, C, K, S, X
Banana agar ..	Cl, C, K, S, X, R
Papaya agar ..	Cl, C, K, S, X
Malt agar ..	Cr, Cl, C, K, S, X

On Brown's Starch and Hill Apple Media the colour zones of the mycelium correspond with the growth zones for all the strains. On other media the colour zones are well marked from the growth zones.

Sporulation. Spore production on the different media is given below under four heads viz : (1) Very good, (2) Good, (3) Poor and (4) Very poor.

Media	Very good	Good	Poor	Very poor
1. Brown's Starch	Cr, Cl, K, S, X	C	..	..
2. Green guava	Cr, Cl, C, K, S, X	R	..	..
3. Papaya agar	Cr, Cl, C, K, S, X	..	..	R
4. Malt agar	Cr, Cl, C, K, S, X	..	..	R
5. Kashmir apple	Cl, C, X	Cr, KS	..	..
6. Banana agar	Cl, C, K, S, X	R	Cr	..
7. Ripe guava	Cl, C, K, S, X	R	..	Cr
8. Hill apple	K	..	Cr, Cl, C	S, X

As regards the size-range of spores and septation mode, a change was observed in the different strains on the different media and can be seen from the charts given for the microscopic characters under every medium. It has often been seen that a rich growth of aerial mycelium is not associated with good sporulation. I found however that certain strains on certain media showed copious mycelial growth side by side with good sporulation. Thus the strains Cr, Cl, C, K, S, X show very good sporulation as also a luxuriant and good growth of aerial mycelium on Malt, Banana and Brown's Starch.

Chlamydospores.

The formation of chlamydospores was observed only in the strains R & S. R developed them on green and ripe guava agars, while S developed them only on green guava agar. The best development of chlamydospores was in the strain R. The sector of R produces chlamydospores but not the parent colony on cod-liver oil malt extract medium.

Saltations.

Saltations were observed in 5 out of 8 media viz. Green Guava, Ripe Guava, Banana, Papaya and Malt agars.

The greatest tendency to saltation was displayed by the strain R, which saltated on all the 5 media mentioned, showing more than one sector on every medium. Strain X produced

saltation on Green and Ripe Guava agars while the strain C saltated only on Malt agar.

While certain strains alone saltate, the medium also seems to have something to do with the phenomenon, since certain media, more than others would seem to induce saltation.

After a consideration of the important characters such as, development of aerial mycelium, zonation, sporulation, rate of growth, the number of staling forms, and saltation, the author wishes to recommend the media studied in the following order for the growth of *Macrosporium* :—

1. Banana-decoction-Agar. Best.
2. Cod-liver Oil Malt Extract Agar.
3. Papaya-decoction-agar.
4. Ripe Guava-decoction-Agar.
5. Kashmir Apple-decoction-Agar.
6. Brown's-starch-synthetic Medium.
7. Green Guava-decoction-Agar.
8. Hill Apple decoction Agar. Poorest.

VI. Summary

1. In all twenty-three plants were found, on which *Macrosporium* was growing. Seven forms out of these were used in cultural work.

2. Six natural media were prepared from fresh fruits—viz. Kashmir and Hill Apples, Ripe and Green Guavas, Banana, and Papaya. A synthetic medium viz., Brown's synthetic starch, and Cod-liver Oil Malt Extract agar were also used. The former was used for purposes of comparison.

3. From the growth rate of the different strain of *Macrosporium* on the various media it was observed that there was an alternate rise and fall, and an absence of a uniform rate of growth.

4. Some of the strains were found to stale on certain media only.

5. Growth rate is not influenced by the pH value of the medium i.e. the acidity or alkalinity of the medium does not seem to have any influence on the rate of growth.

6. Intensity of colour was observed to change for the strains from medium to medium. The colour olive might be taken as the basic colour for all the strains.

7. Zonations were found in every medium but not necessarily for every strain.

8. Development of aerial mycelium and also sporulation was studied in all the media. Some of the strains followed the general rule that a good growth of aerial mycelium is associated with poor sporulation. There were, however, many exceptions to this rule.

9. The size-range of the spores, as also the length of the spore stalk changed with the media.

10. Chlamydospores were observed in R & S; both strains forming them on green guava agar and only R forming them on ripe guava agar and in the sector of R on Malt extract agar.

11. Saltations were produced by the strains R, X, and C.

12. After consideration of all the important characters—the Banana, Cod-liver Oil Malt Extract and Papaya agars are specially recommended.

In conclusion, the author acknowledges her indebtedness to Prof. J. H. Mitter, for suggesting the problem and his guidance in this work, and to Messrs. R. N. Tandon and A. K. Mittra for their help.

Literature cited

1. Mitra, A. K.—The Comparative values of various Fresh Fruit Juice Media in relation to the growth of certain Deuteromycetes. Allahabad University Studies, 8; II; 197-224; 1932.
2. Lacy, R. C.—An estimation of the comparative value of

various fresh fruit media in regard to Fungal Growth.
Allahabad University Studies; 12; 107-142; 1936.

3. Ridgway—Colour Standards and nomenclature, 1912.
4. Stevens, F. L. & Hall, J. C.—Variation of fungi due to environment. Bot. Gaz. 48; 1-30; 1909.
5. Horne, A. S. and Mitter, J. H.—Studies in the genus *Fusarium* V—Ann. Bot. 41; 519-547; 1927.
6. Brown, W.—Studies in the genus *Fusarium* II.
Ann. Bot. 39; 373-408; 1925.
7. Boyle—Studies in the physiology of parasitism X.
Ann. Bot. 38; 113-135; 1924.

Explanation of Plates—illustrating the spores of the different strains of *Macrosporium* on various media.

Plate I.

Figs. 1-8—The strain S on Brown's-starch, papaya, malt, banana, ripe guava, green guava, Kashmir apple and Hill apple media in order.

Figs. 9-16—The strain X on Brown's-starch, papaya, malt, banana, ripe guava, green guava, Kashmir apple and Hill apple media in order.

Figs. 17-21—The strain R on papaya, malt, banana, ripe guava and green guava agars in order.

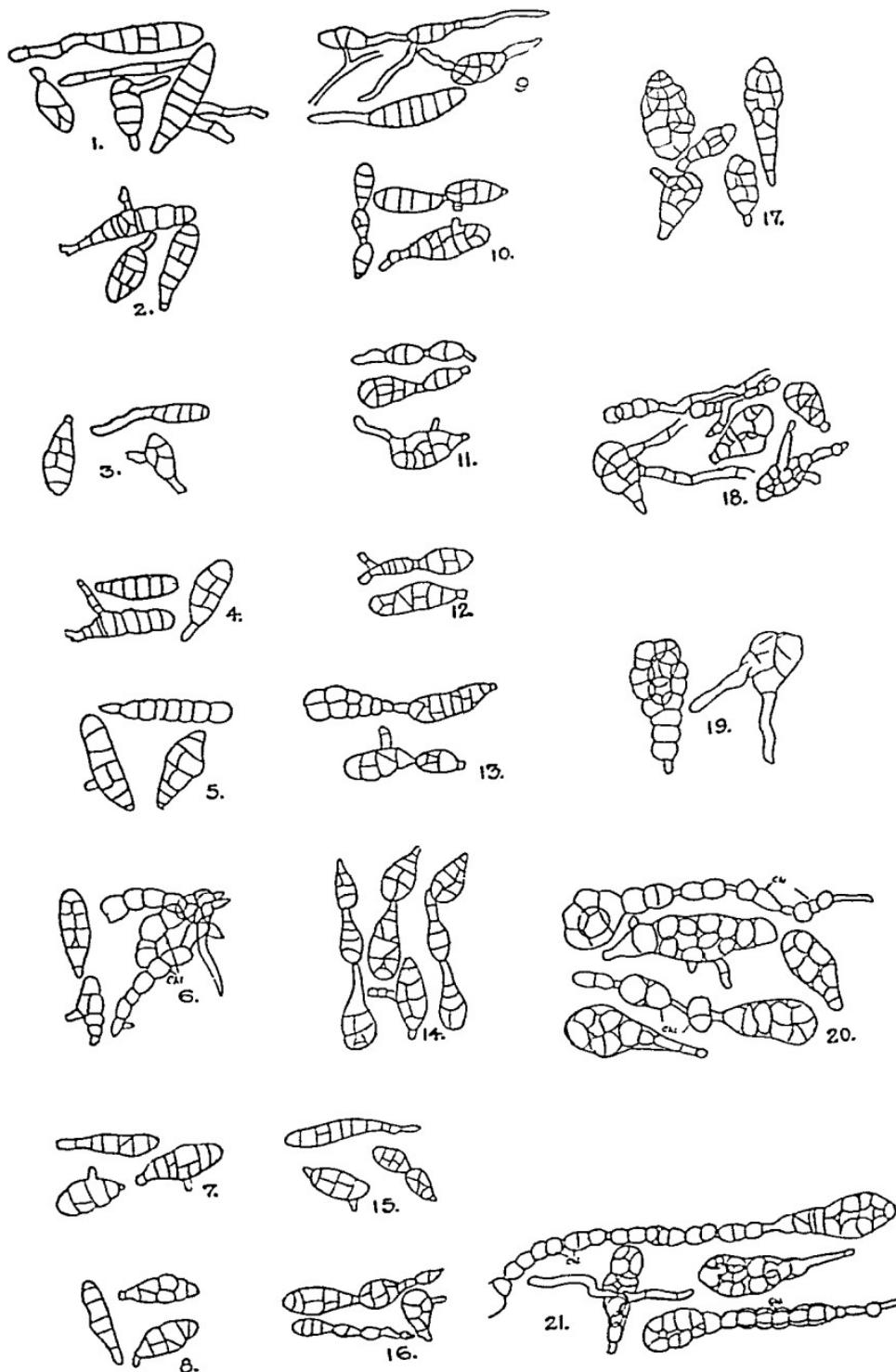
Plate II.

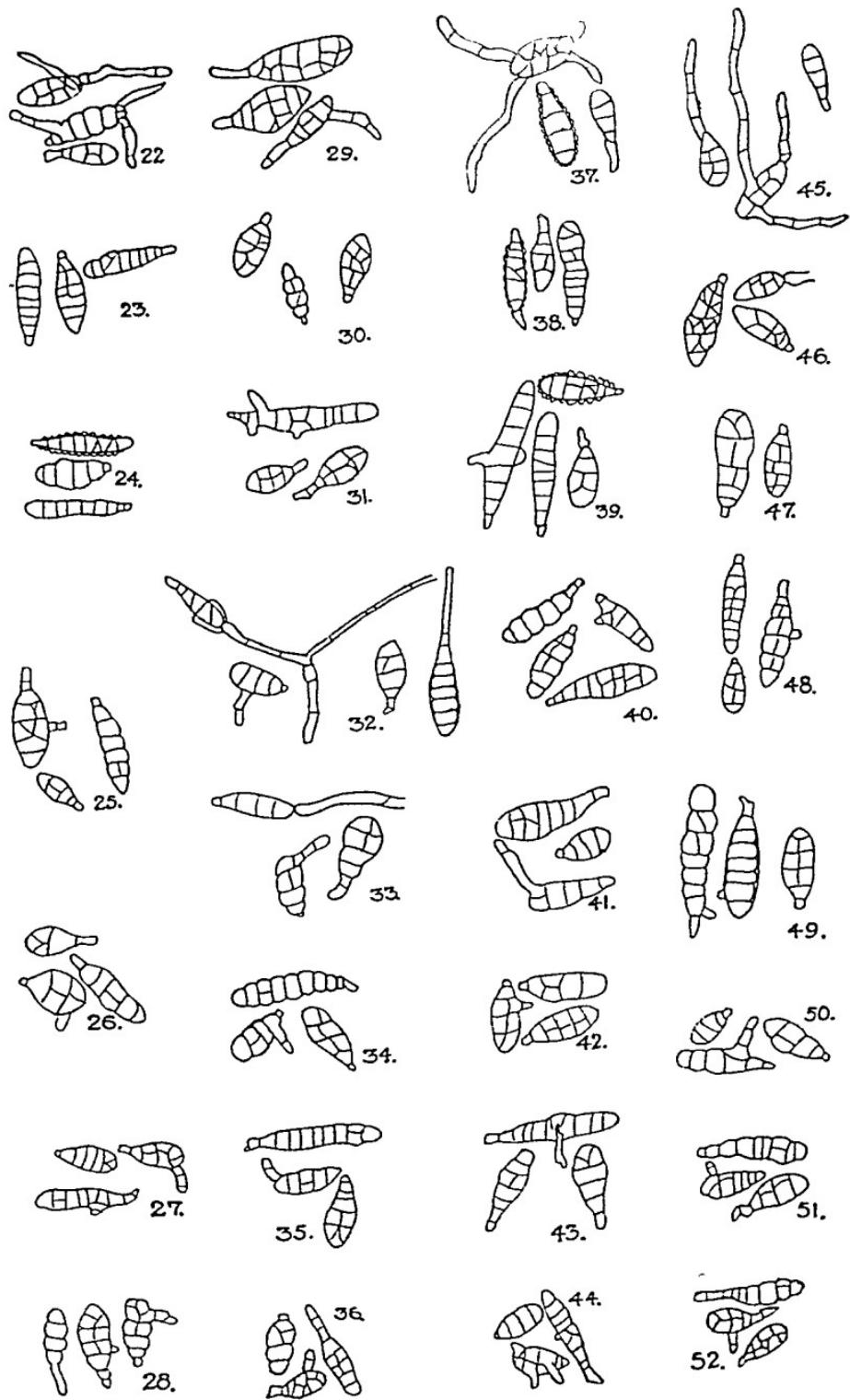
Figs. 22-28—The strain Cr on Brown's-starch, Hill apple, Kashmir apple, green guava, banana, papaya and malt agars in order.

Figs. 29-36—The strain Cl on Brown's-starch, Hill apple, Kashmir apple, green guava, ripe guava, banana, papaya and malt agars in order.

Figs. 37-44—The strain C on Brown's-starch, Hill apple, Kashmir apple, green guava, ripe guava, banana, papaya and malt agars in order.

Figs. 45-52—The strain K on Brown's-starch, Hill apple, Kashmir apple, green guava, ripe guava, banana, papaya and malt agars in order.





SECTION IV
MATHEMATICS

ON THE PHRAGMÉN—LINDELÖF PRINCIPLE*

By P. L. SRIVASTAVA

Reader, Mathematics Department, Allahabad University

i. The main object of this paper is to deduce certain important consequences from the Phragmén-Lindelöf Principle. To do this I need the following theorem which is only the generalized form of a theorem proved by me elsewhere.¹

If

(i.1) $f(z)$ is a regular function of $z (=re^{i\varphi})$ in the angle $|\varphi| \leq \alpha$, where $\alpha > \frac{\pi}{2\rho}$;

(i.2) $f(z) = O(e^{Ar^\rho})$, where A is a positive constant, throughout this angle;

(i.3) $f(z)$ is not identically zero; then

$$(i.4) b(\varphi) \equiv \lim_{r \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\log |f(re^{i\varphi})|}{r^\rho}$$

is a continuous function of φ for $|\varphi| < \alpha$.

I use this theorem to prove the following theorem.

Theorem I. If

(i.5) $f(z)$ is a regular function of z in an angle of extent $\frac{2\pi}{\rho}$;

(i.6) $f(z) = O(e^{Ar^\rho})$, where A is a positive constant, throughout this angle;

(i.7) $|f(z)| < e^{-Br^\rho}$, where $B > A$, on any radius vector inside this angle;

*An abstract of this paper appears in Proc. National Academy of Sciences, India, Vol. 6, 1936.
¹ Proceedings of the Cambridge Phil. Soc., Vol. 25, Pt. III, p. 265.

then $f(z)$ is identically zero.

From this we deduce the following generalization of a theorem of Akheyser.²

Theorem II. If

(1.8) $f(z)$ is a regular function of order $e^{(1+\varepsilon)\rho}$ in the angle

$$|\varphi| \leq \frac{\pi}{\rho};$$

(1.9) $|f(re^{i\frac{\alpha}{2\rho}})| < Ae^{-(\cos \frac{\alpha}{2} + \varepsilon)r^\rho}$ where $0 < \alpha < \pi$, for all values of r , A and ε being some fixed positive constants;

(1.10) $|f(re^{-i\frac{\alpha}{2\rho}})| < e^{(-\cos \frac{\alpha}{2} + \eta)r^\rho}$, for every positive number η , however small, and $r \geq r(\eta)$; then $f(z)$ is identically zero.

Akheyser took ρ to be an integer and $f(z)$ an integral function of z . Elsewhere³ I have shown that the restriction that ρ must be an integer is unnecessary. Here I show that, in case $\rho > 1$, $f(z)$ need be regular only inside an angle of extent $\frac{2\pi}{\rho}$ and not in the whole plane.

The next theorem is of the same character as Theorem I. In this the angular region in which $f(z)$ is regular is of an extent less than $\frac{2\pi}{\rho}$, but the condition $B > A$ is replaced by $A < -B \cos \alpha\rho$.

Theorem III. If

(1.11) $f(z)$ is a regular function of z in the angle $|\varphi| \leq \alpha$, where

$$\frac{\pi}{2\rho} < \alpha < \frac{\pi}{\rho};$$

(1.12) $f(z) = O(e^{Kr^\rho})$, where K is a positive constant throughout this angle;

(1.13) $f(z) = O(e^{Ar^\rho})$ on $\varphi = \pm \alpha$, and
 $= O(e^{-Br^\rho})$ on $\varphi = 0$;

² Rendiconti del Circolo Matematico di Palermo, Vol. 51, 1927, pp. 390-393.

³ Rendiconti del Circolo Matematico di Palermo, Vol. 55, 1931.

then $f(z)$ is identically zero, if $A < -B \cos \rho\alpha$.

2. *Proof of Theorem I.* It seems most natural to deduce this theorem from those proved by Phragmén and Lindelöf in Part III of their well-known memoir in Vol. 31 of the *Acta Mathematica*.⁴

We may plainly suppose that $f(z)$ is regular in the angle $-\alpha' \leq \varphi \leq \alpha$, where α and α' are both positive and their sum is $\frac{2\pi}{\rho}$, and that the inequality (1.7) is satisfied on the vector $\varphi=0$.

Now let us suppose that $f(z)$ is not always zero, and write, with Phragmén and Lindelöf,

$$b(\varphi) = \lim_{r \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\log |f(re^{i\varphi})|}{r^\rho},$$

so that $b(\varphi) \leq A$, ($-\alpha' \leq \varphi \leq \alpha$), and, by virtue of the theorem stated at the outset, $b(\varphi)$ is continuous for $-\alpha' < \varphi < \alpha$. Also $b(0) \leq -B$.

Now two cases will arise: (i) α and α' are unequal,

$$(ii) \quad \alpha = \alpha' = \frac{\pi}{\rho}.$$

(i) suppose $\alpha' < \frac{\pi}{\rho}$ and apply the fundamental theorem of section 10 of Phragmén and Lindelöf's paper to the angular region $-\alpha' \leq \varphi \leq 0$.

Then $b(\varphi) \leq C \cos \rho\varphi + D \sin \rho\varphi$, for $-\alpha' \leq \varphi \leq 0$, where $C \cos \rho\varphi + D \sin \rho\varphi$ takes the values $-B$ and A for $\varphi=0$ and $\varphi=-\alpha'$ respectively.

That is, $b(\varphi) \leq -B \cos \rho\varphi - \frac{A+B \cos \alpha' \rho}{\sin \alpha' \rho} \sin \rho\varphi, -\alpha' \leq \varphi \leq 0$.

Now $-B \cos \rho\varphi - \frac{A+B \cos \alpha' \rho}{\sin \alpha' \rho} \sin \rho\varphi = 0$, when

⁴ Sur une extension d'un principe classique de l'Analyse etc., *Acta Mathematica*, Vol. 31, 1908, pp. 381-406.

$$\tan \rho\varphi = \frac{-B \sin \alpha' \rho}{A+B \cos \alpha' \rho} < \frac{-B \sin \alpha' \rho}{B+B \cos \alpha' \rho} = -\tan \frac{\alpha' \rho}{2}.$$

This means that $b(\varphi) \leq 0$, for $\varphi = -\frac{\alpha'}{2} - \delta$, where δ is some fixed positive number.

Now $b(\varphi)$ being continuous and $b(0) \leq -B$, $b(\varphi) < 0$ in the interval $-\frac{\alpha'}{2} - \delta \leq \varphi \leq \frac{\pi}{\rho} - \left(\frac{\alpha'}{2} + \gamma\right)$ and $b(\varphi) = 0$ when $\varphi = \varphi_0 = \frac{\pi}{\rho} - \left(\frac{\alpha'}{2} + \gamma\right) > 0$, where $\frac{\alpha}{2} > \gamma \geq \delta$, since an interval in which $b(\varphi)$ is negative cannot exceed $\frac{\pi^5}{\rho}$ and an interval in which $b(\varphi)$ is positive must at least be equal to $\frac{\pi^6}{\rho}$.

Now applying the theorem⁷ that if $b(\varphi_0) = 0$, then $b(\varphi_0 + x) + b(\varphi_0 - x) \geq 0$, ($0 < x < \frac{\pi}{\rho}$), we have

$$b\left(\varphi_0 + \frac{\pi}{\rho} - \left(\frac{\alpha'}{2} + \gamma\right)\right) + b\left(\varphi_0 - \frac{\pi}{\rho} + \frac{\alpha'}{2} + \gamma\right) \geq 0,$$

$$\text{i.e., } b\left(\frac{2\pi}{\rho} - \alpha' - 2\gamma\right) + b(0) \geq 0,$$

$$\text{i.e., } b(\alpha - 2\gamma) + b(0) \geq 0.$$

$\therefore A \geq b(\alpha - 2\gamma) \geq -b(0) \geq B$, which contradicts the hypothesis that $A < B$.

Hence $f(z)$ is identically zero.

(ii) $\alpha = \alpha' = \frac{\pi}{\rho}$. Choose any arbitrarily small positive number ε , and apply the theorem of section 10 of Phragmén and

⁵ Phragmén and Lindelöf, I. c., p. 400.

⁶ Ibid, p. 399.

⁷ Ibid, p. 400.

Lindelöf's paper to the angular regions $-\frac{\pi}{\rho} + \varepsilon \leq \varphi \leq 0$ and $0 \leq \varphi \leq \frac{\pi}{\rho} - \varepsilon$.

$$\varphi \leq \frac{\pi}{\rho} - \varepsilon.$$

Then $b(\varphi) \leq 0$ for $-\frac{\pi}{2\rho} + \frac{\varepsilon}{2} - \delta \leq \varphi \leq \frac{\pi}{2\rho} - \frac{\varepsilon}{2} + \delta$, and the extent of this angle being $\frac{\pi}{\rho} - \varepsilon + 2\delta > \frac{\pi}{\rho}$, we come to an impossibility. Hence $f(z)$ is again identically zero.

It is easy to see, by considering the function e^{-z^2} , that the theorem ceases to be true when the extent of the angle in which $f(z)$ is regular is less than $\frac{2\pi}{\rho}$.

The above result can also be stated in the following form:—

If $f(z)$ satisfies the conditions (1.5) and (1.6) and is not identically zero, then, for every positive number ε , the inequality

$$|f(z)| > e^{-(A+\varepsilon)r^2}$$

is satisfied on each vector issuing from the origin and lying inside the angular region in which $f(z)$ is regular, for an infinity of points whose limit is infinity.⁸

3. Proof of Theorem II. If $f(z)$ is not identically zero, then $b(\varphi) = \lim_{r \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\log |f(re^{i\varphi})|}{r^\rho} \leq 1$ for $|\varphi| \leq \frac{\pi}{\rho}$ and is a con-

tinuous function of φ for $|\varphi| < \frac{\pi}{\rho}$.

$$\text{Since } b\left(\frac{\alpha}{2\rho}\right) \leq -\left(\cos \frac{\alpha}{2} + \varepsilon\right)$$

and $b\left(-\frac{\alpha}{2\rho}\right) \leq -\cos \frac{\alpha}{2}$, we have, by the fundamental theorem of Phragmén and Lindelöf,

$$b(\varphi) \leq \left(-1 - \frac{\varepsilon}{2} \sec \frac{\alpha}{2}\right) \cos \rho\varphi - \frac{\varepsilon}{2} \cosec \frac{\alpha}{2} \sin \rho\varphi$$

⁸ Cf. H. Cramér, "Un théorème sur les séries de Dirichlet et son application," Arkiv for Matematik etc., t. 13, No. 22 (1918), p. 12.

for $-\frac{\alpha}{2\rho} \leq \varphi \leq \frac{\alpha}{2\rho}$, α being less than π .

$$\therefore b(0) \leq -1 - \frac{\epsilon}{2} \sec \frac{\alpha}{2} < -1.$$

$f(z)$, therefore, satisfies the conditions of Theorem I with $A=1$, and $B=1 + \frac{\epsilon}{2} \sec \frac{\alpha}{2}$, and so $f(z)=0$.

4. *Proof of Theorem III.* If $f(z)$ is not identically zero, then $b(\varphi) = \lim_{r \rightarrow \infty} \frac{\log |f(re^{i\varphi})|}{r^\rho}$, ($|\varphi| \leq \alpha$) is a continuous function of φ for $|\varphi| < \alpha$.

Now applying the fundamental theorem of Phragmén and Lindelöf to the angular region $0 \leq \varphi \leq \alpha$, we have

$b(\varphi) \leq C \cos \rho\varphi + D \sin \rho\varphi$, for $0 \leq \varphi \leq \alpha$, where $C \cos \rho\varphi + D \sin \rho\varphi$ takes the values $-B$ and A for $\varphi=0$, and $\varphi=\alpha$ respectively.

That is, $b(\varphi) \leq -B \cos \rho\varphi + \frac{A+B \cos \rho\alpha}{\sin \rho\alpha} \sin \rho\varphi$, ($0 \leq \varphi \leq \alpha$).

Now the right hand expression is negative in the angle $0 \leq \varphi < \gamma$, where $\gamma > \frac{\pi}{2\rho}$, since it vanishes when $\tan \rho\gamma = \frac{B \sin \rho\alpha}{A+B \cos \rho\alpha}$ which is negative.

Similarly, we can prove that $b(\varphi)$ is negative in the angle $-\gamma < \varphi \leq 0$, so that $b(\varphi)$ is negative in an angle whose magnitude is greater than $\frac{\pi}{\rho}$ which is an impossibility.⁵

Hence $f(z)=0$.

As a particular case we have the following result :—

If $f(z)$ is a regular function of exponential type in the angle,

$|\varphi| \leq \alpha$, where $\frac{\pi}{2} < \alpha < \pi$, and is bounded on the vectors $\varphi = \pm \alpha$, then it cannot satisfy the equality $f(z)=0$ ($e^{-\delta r}$), ($\delta > 0$), on the positive real axis without being identically zero.